

SECRET

Executive Registry

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Excerpt from Journal

Office of Legislative Counsel

Tuesday - 12 August 1958

Delivered to William H. Darden on the staff of the Senate Committee on Armed Services the memorandum for Senator Russell concerning the proposed transfer of two transmitters to AMCOMLIB. Mr. Darden felt that there was sufficient information contained in said memorandum. He will attempt to handle this by discussing it with a number of key members of the Committee.

See Memorandum for the Record for further discussion of complaints of a former employee to Senator Russell and suggestions for briefing the CIA Subcommittee.

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[Redacted]
John S. Warner
Legislative Counsel

cc: ✓ DCI
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1. RADIO LIBERATION

Radio Liberation is the U.S. Government's major "unofficial" voice to the Soviet peoples, designed to weaken the prestige and power of the Soviet dictatorship by broadcasting as a voice of the Soviet emigre community interested in the welfare of their fellow-countrymen. It is operated by the American Committee for Liberation, an apparently private group of American citizens.

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in steel demand seems likely, however, while demand for machinery, autos and railroad equipment is weak. About a third of all steel made is shipped to these industries.

An appraisal of conflicting forces now affecting business is being made by economists, in and out of the Government. Effect of the drop in plant-and-equipment spending is being weighed against the rise in defense orders now under way.

The drop in plant-and-equipment spending, in the view of economists who appeared recently before a committee of Congress, is not to be a very severe one, but could be nagging, rather drawn out. In the recession of 1948-49, spending for plant and equipment declined 20 per cent from the fourth quarter of 1948 to the fourth quarter of 1949, about a year's time. In the 1953-54 recession, it fell 11 per cent from the third quarter of 1953 to the first quarter of 1955, a space of about a year and a half.

Expectation of these economists is that the present decline in spending for plant and equipment will last at least a year. At its maximum, from peak to trough, the decline seems likely to exceed the 11 per cent of 1953-54 and approach the 20 per cent of 1948-49.

The explanation given is that idle capacity in industry is greater now than in those previous recessions. The financial condition of corporations is less liquid. Tax cuts cannot be counted on, as in 1954, when the tax on excess profits was removed.

Defense orders to be placed with prime contractors from Jan. 1, 1958, to June 30, 1958, will come to about 13 billion dollars, up 5.5 billion from orders placed in the six months ended Dec. 31, 1957. After this bulge, orders will fall back in the second half of 1958 to a rate not much above that of a year earlier.

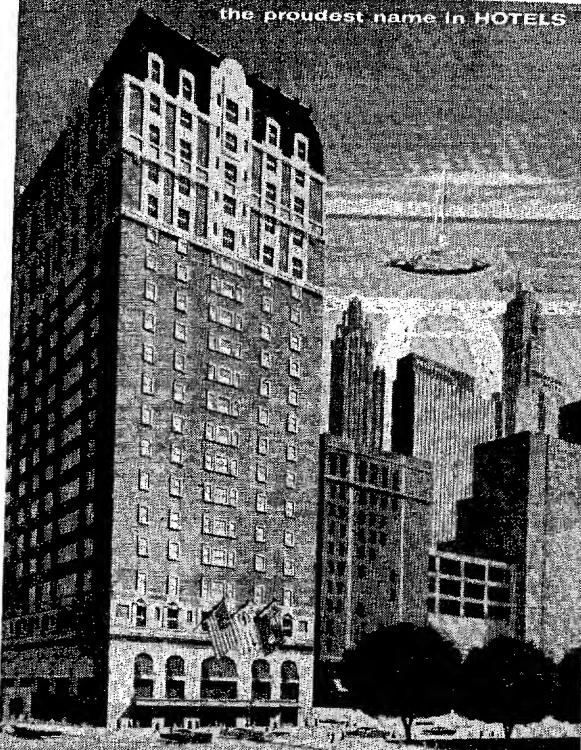
The power of defense orders on this scale to check the business decline is uncertain. They will spur defense contractors to hire more workers, buy more raw materials. The increase of 5.5 billions, large though it is for the industries directly affected, is not huge in relation to total orders received by business, even when one reckons on the additional orders that spring from subcontracting of defense orders. In the six months ended Dec. 31, 1957, all manufacturers received orders totaling 160 billions.

Recuperative power of industries producing metals, machinery and transportation equipment will be sapped in months ahead by the decline in spending for plant and equipment. Later this year, when the decline in capital outlays of business tapers off, business activity will have a better chance of a strong revival.

[END]

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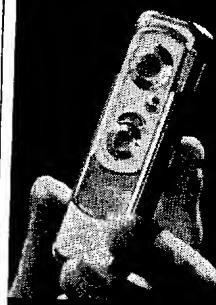


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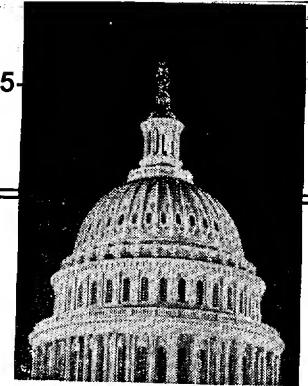
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TALKING BACK TO RUSSIA

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Last week on this page extracts were presented from a number of statements written by many prominent men in the free world and broadcast in several languages to the people behind the Iron Curtain by the American Committee for Liberation. This organization of private citizens has been crusading for "freedom for the peoples of the USSR".

Twelve United States Senators and five Representatives of both parties gave statements urging freedom for the people of Soviet Russia.

The broadcasts were made in connection with the 40th Anniversary of the Communist suppression of the First Constituent Assembly—the only free parliament elected by universal suffrage in Russian history.

The Soviet Government's principal newspaper, Izvestia, promptly denounced the American speakers as having "a gay time at a funeral banquet for the Assembly." But "Radio Liberation," using powerful transmitters in West Germany and the Far East, now has broadcast several rebuttals, two of which are printed below.—David Lawrence, Editor.)

Senator William Knowland, spokesman for the Eisenhower Administration in the Senate: "I have enough confidence in the common sense of the people of the Soviet Union to believe that their reaction to the Communist Government dictated *Izvestia* article of January 23rd will be: 'A confession of guilty as charged—guilty of destroying free government in Russia.'

"Today, I should like to make it clear that we paid tribute to the freely elected Constituent Assembly of 1918 not because we want to turn back the clock, to revive the past. On the contrary, it is my conviction, and I believe it is shared by the overwhelming majority of people in the democratic world, that a freely elected parliament represents the *future* of the Soviet peoples rather than the *past*. Unlike *Izvestia*, we have confidence that the Soviet people are mature enough and wise enough to govern themselves freely, through freely elected representatives, and to vote out of office leaders who do not carry out their will.

"*Izvestia* claims that the Soviet public is satisfied with the present political order; if this is true, there is a simple way to prove it: hold free elections under conditions which would guarantee Soviet citizens freedom of choice at the polls between persons and groups of different viewpoints.

"The democratic world has enough confidence in the good judgment of the Soviet public to abide by the results of such an election.

"Finally, I am confident that I speak for the overwhelming majority in the United States when I say that our Government would welcome talks at the summit with the spokesmen of a freely elected parliament truly representing the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"We are confident that such an elected leadership would work for genuine peace, disarmament and the removal of the barriers that divide the western world from the people of the Soviet Union. I am sure the people of both our countries desire peace with honor based on freedom."

Norman Thomas, many times candidate for the Presidency on the national Socialist ticket: "Over this radio I spoke to you briefly on the 40th Anniversary of the day when Lenin and Trotsky forcibly dissolved the Constituent Assembly which originally they had favored. Frankly I had doubted how many of you would ever hear what I, along with other Americans, said on that occasion. Imagine then my pleasure to learn from *Izvestia*'s long diatribe against us that our remarks must have received your attention.

"To be sure, *Izvestia* says that 'Norman Thomas hysterically questioned his hypothetical Soviet listeners.' Obviously, it would not have troubled to reply if all my listeners were hypothetical. And I am quite sure that those listeners, whatever their silent answers to my questions, would agree that neither the questions nor the manner of my asking them was hysterical.

"On questions of American policy our speakers represented on January 19 different views. Many of them would challenge my socialism, but none my right to speak to you in a friendly fashion as an American and a Socialist. . . .

"My position and my party's on this and other matters critical of our Government was well known. Nevertheless the Federal Government has never kept me from speaking to you or my own countrymen, or denied me radio facilities to speak to you about peace and freedom.

"I should not impose this personal statement on you except that it justifies my raising a question not only for you but for the editors of *Izvestia* to consider: Is there any writer, speaker, labor leader or political figure in your own great country who has been on occasion as openly critical of your Government as I of mine, who has been allowed to speak and write in freedom in Russia, or been offered the facilities of Radio Moscow to speak to Russians in the name of peace and freedom for us all?"

... Humphrey: Republicans are using "mass smear technique"

Agriculture. The opposition will generally try to re-establish federal regimentation and control programs that have never worked in all their tragic history and that were saved from total collapse in past years only by three national disasters—the terrible drought of the late 1930s, World War II, and the Korean war. Our party will continue its efforts to build farm programs that don't have to depend upon disaster to make them work. We will keep on trying to free farm people from federal domination, to encourage a return to growing crops for markets instead of for Government storage, and to build for the time when efficiency and competition will again govern the farm economy. As part of this maneuver, the opposition will continue to dodge sane answers to farm problems. Instead, they will keep on questioning the reputation and dis-

paraging the motives of every farm spokesman who dares to oppose their effort to tighten the federal grip on farm people.

Labor. The opposition will, if they can, block efforts to protect union workers from excesses of their own leaders, and will prevent, if they can, any accomplishment in protecting workers' pension funds.

As this session of Congress proceeds, divisions such as these will take place every day all up and down the line. You will see these differences in veterans' affairs, in natural-resources measures, in federal aid to State and local governments, in airport and hospital construction, in federal credit programs, in the pay of Government employes, and on and on.

DEMOCRATS ANSWER THE REPUBLICANS

Rayburn: People "Very Discouraged" After Five Years of Eisenhower

Influential Democrats wasted no time picking up the Republican challenge. The day after the Republican speeches, the Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn of Texas, told reporters in Washington:

I see that the Republicans last night just about obliterated the Democratic Party. I listened to their apologies, and they didn't impress me very much.

As for the defense program, they have had five years at it now, and, if they can't get a program by this time, it looks like the people will be very much discouraged with them.

Sometimes when I listen to their speeches, including the President's, I wonder if he thinks he can pass his program through Congress without any Democratic votes.

It is a remarkable thing that nobody in the Republican Party from Eisenhower on down has ever proposed to repeal a single law we passed in our 20 years in power. But we are pretty bad folks when they get to making \$100 political speeches.

Humphrey: Adams Staked Out "the Low Road for the '58 Campaign"

It was in the home State of Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, that Mr. Adams made his opening attack on the Democrats. Senator Humphrey replied with this statement:

The low road for the 1958 political campaign has been staked out by Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams. Republicanism and irresponsibility are once again proving synonymous.

While President Eisenhower in Chicago was saying that the issues of "peace and security" would be taken out of this year's campaign, "ghost President" Sherman Adams—the non-elected "President without portfolio"—came to Minnesota to dip deep into the bucket for handfuls of old and sour mud.

The people can have little confidence in two-faced leadership that permits the Presidential Assistant to deliberately provoke a bitter partisan battle by distorting the historic record at the same time the President is calling for bipartisanship.

It looks like they have laid out the battle lines for 1958. They failed to divide the people from the Democratic Party in the congressional elections of 1954 and 1956, so they are turning back to their original tactics of 1952. They are again using the President to voice high-sounding phrases of a holier-

than-thou line while his hand-picked subordinates scurry around the country trying to inspire fear in the hearts of Americans through a vicious and totally irresponsible mass smear technique.

Acheson: Administration Shows "Failure of Leadership"

A few hours before the Republican speeches were delivered, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who heads the advisory committee on foreign policy of the Democratic Advisory Council, held a Washington news conference to present the views of the committee. This exchange took place:

Mr. Acheson: It seems to all of us that we have come to the point where inaction—this substitution of words for acts—has brought this country face to face with a very serious crisis. And it cannot be dealt with by simply saying, "Trust Eisenhower. He knows everything. He is the Great White Father." It is now perfectly clear that leaving things to this Administration means they are not done.

We get the same impression if we compare the words of the [President's] state-of-the-union message with what is asked for in the budget message.

As Mr. Truman always used to say, it is the budget message that really shows what the Administration is doing. What you are going to do with the cash tells what you are up to. Here, once again, we have an illustration of complacency and inaction, of meeting the situation only halfway.

When you look at what the President said in his state-of-the-union message about reorganizing the Pentagon and compare it with his press-conference remarks, you see that he is not going to reorganize it at all. He is the person who should know something about organizing the Pentagon, but he is going to organize another committee to look into it.

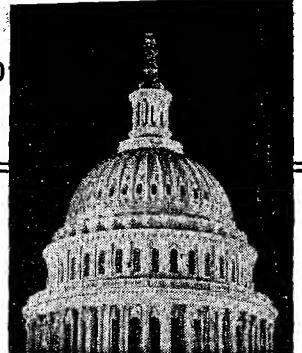
The President says, "I will be glad to express my views," but he is not going to do anything. It is just another example of failure of leadership—or inadequacy in high places.

Q: Could you tell us where you think the budget message doesn't bear out the state-of-the-union message?

Mr. Acheson: Well, the state-of-the-union message calls for great efforts to increase our defensive power. But, actually, the increase called for in the budget for that purpose is from 44.4 billion dollars to 45.8 billion dollars—a lesser increase than would be necessary to meet the rise in prices.

The state-of-the-union message gives us a ringing message to every American—a call to roll up his sleeves and get to work. Then the budget gives us less money than we had before.**[END]**

"PEOPLE TO PEOPLE"



(Forty years ago, just after the people of Russia had revolted against the despotism of the Czar, they chose a Constituent Assembly—the only freely-elected parliament in their history. It was crushed by the Communists after just one day's session, January 18-19, 1918.

To remind the world of this grim event, "Radio Liberation," an organization of private citizens from the free countries of the world, last week broadcast over powerful transmitters, in Russian and 17 other Soviet languages, some pointed messages. These were not only from leaders of both political parties in the Congress of the United States but from authors, playwrights and editors, and were supplemented by statements from prominent members of the parliaments of the free nations of Europe.

This is an excellent example of the way communication can be established between the peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Extracts from some of the messages sent by American leaders of opinion are given here.—David Lawrence, Editor.)

Senator Lyndon Johnson, Majority Leader of the Senate: "The dissolution of the all-Russian Constituent Assembly was a crushing blow which ended the hopes of the Russian people for democratic government. But the dream of freedom is one that can never be completely crushed. And men of good will everywhere join in the hope that Russia will some day be free."

Senator William F. Knowland, Minority Leader of the Senate: "In the only free election the people of Russia have enjoyed, we remember that the Communist Party received an overwhelming defeat. All of the people of the free world look hopefully to the future—that the people of Russia will again have the opportunity to select freely their own government and official representatives."

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois: "Russia needs a democratic government today to replace the present brutal dictatorship and when this happens there will again be a Russian parliament."

Senator John F. Kennedy, Democrat, of Massachusetts: "Undoubtedly the passage of forty years has not dimmed the eternal yearning of the people of the Soviet Union for a truly representative Constituent Assembly."

Senator Joseph Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania: "The Constituent Assembly was an expression of the will of the majority for an open society, with represent-

ative political institutions. Its dispersal by force of arms was the first in the chain of violent tragedies leading to the subjugation of many proud nations."

Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican, of New Jersey: "We in the United States know that, like us, the peoples of the Soviet Union want the opportunity to develop and utilize their talents and resources in freedom and in peace. We have no doubt that if a truly free election could be held in the Soviet Union the Soviet peoples would again choose the way of democracy."

Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican, of Massachusetts: "I join my fellow Americans in extending to the Russian people our fervent wish which we hold for all peoples of the earth that you may be permitted and that the peoples of all other nations be permitted to establish, as we have, a government of your own choosing."

Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, of New York: "Let this tragic anniversary remind you that democracy once lived in Russia. May it live again so that the lives of the Soviet peoples will be happier and the dangers to world peace inherent in overly concentrated power can be eliminated."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota: "On this tragic anniversary the American people could wish for nothing better for people in the Soviet Union than the re-establishment of genuine representative institutions."

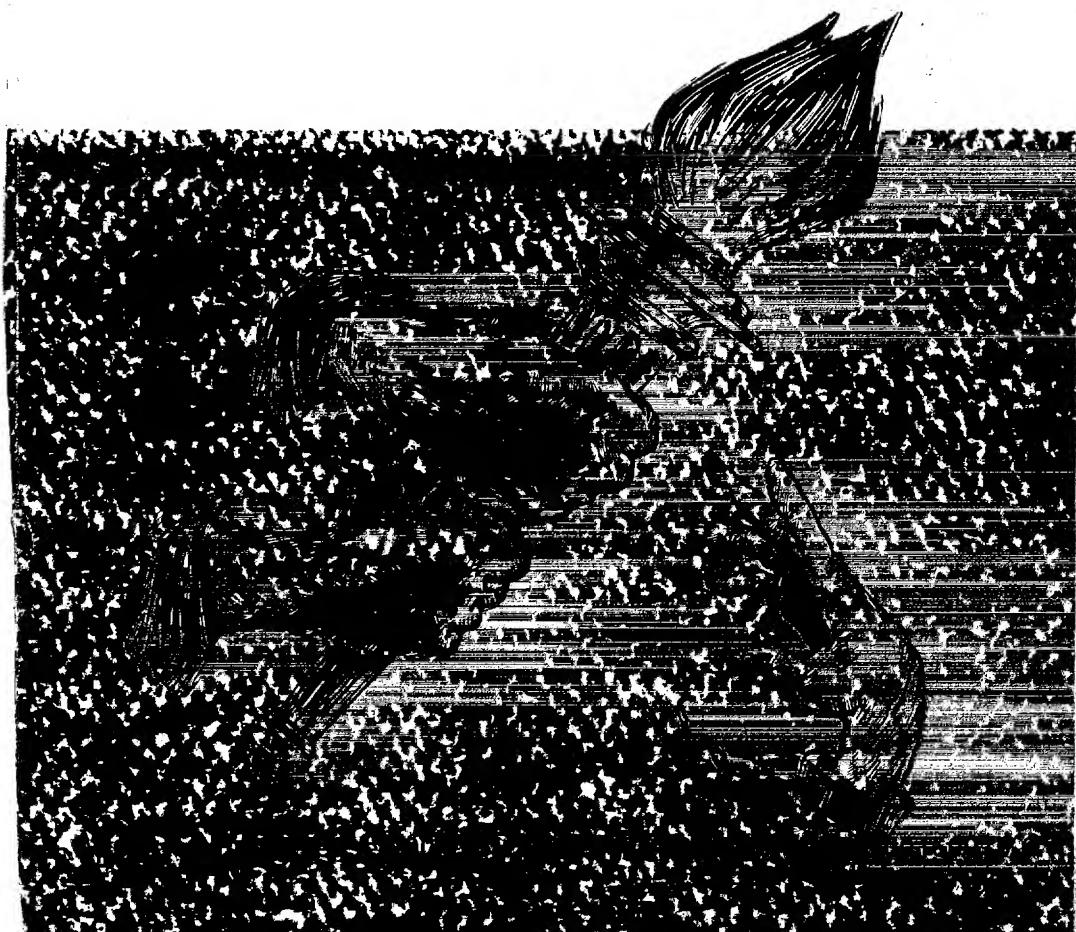
Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York: "Only representative government can claim to be free. Tyranny began when the free parliament ended."

Mrs. Roosevelt: "This is Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt speaking over Radio Liberation to the peoples of the Soviet Union. Just a few short months ago I visited your country and traveled thousands of miles in many directions. I had the opportunity of meeting and talking with individuals in all walks of life—students, doctors, farmers and government officials. There I confirmed at first hand what I have always known—that the people of your country want above all else peace, a lasting peace which will permit you to continue the remarkable work of rebuilding your nation after the devastating war in which our peoples fought together as allies."

"In Russia, too, I saw that your people have reached a level of education and scientific achievement as high, and in some respects higher, than anywhere in the world. And I wondered why such a talented people still lack their own freely elected government—a government responsible to their will."

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A
FRESH LOOK
AT
LIBERATION



Howland H. Sargent
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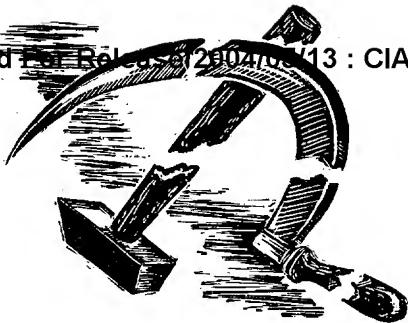
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Munich 19, Germany

Robert F. Kelley
Deputy to the President, Europe

Richard Bertrandias
Director, Radio Division (Munich)

Prof. Oliver J. Frederiksen
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Robert H. Dreher
Emigre Relations Advisor (Munich)



A FRESH LOOK AT LIBERATION

"Evolutionary change, generated by pressures from within and from without, hopes and yearnings of the oppressed, kept alive by the friendships of the free peoples of the earth, will eventually destroy despotic power . . ."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

WILL political liberty one day flourish in the countries now under Communist domination?

Deeply informed, sober-minded fugitives from the Soviet Union are certain that the Communist yoke will eventually be thrown off, and in many cases are dedicating their lives to hasten that event.

Prominent American leaders as well as students of Soviet affairs share this view. Some of them are members of the American Committee for Liberation, a private organization devoted to aiding the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union in their historical task of self-liberation.

The will to liberation in the East European satellite states has been unmistakable from the day of their enslavement by the Kremlin. Any doubts on this score have been dissipated by the Hungarian revolution and the near-revolution in Poland in the autumn of 1956, by the uprising in East Germany in 1953, by impressive evidence of popular pressure against the Red regimes in all other puppet states.

But the peoples' yearnings for greater freedom and ultimate liberation from Soviet despotism have been no less manifest in the USSR itself. The intensity of this liberation movement has been steadily increasing over the 40 years of Soviet power. The whole history of the Soviet period, indeed, can best be understood in terms of a continuing struggle between the Kremlin hierarchy and its subjects—as a "permanent civil war," at times open, at other times concealed, but violent and always costly in life and suffering.

The Record

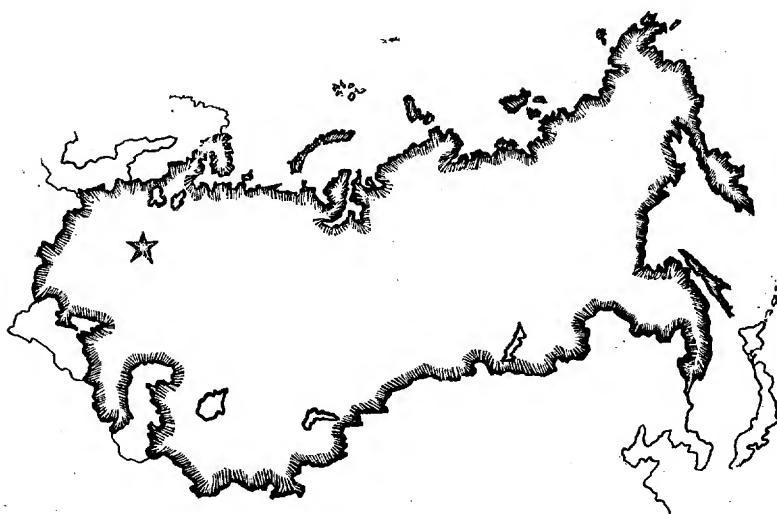
THE Soviet regime was born of a civil war which raged for years. Ever since, the war has persisted by other means and with other weapons. In 1921 the Kronstadt sailors, who had played a key role in helping the Bolsheviks seize power, revolted against the Lenin-Trotsky tyranny and were slaughtered by the thousands. The peasants resisted forcible collectivization, paying with millions of casualties, and have never entirely capitulated. Battles between peasants and Red Army troops were commonplace in the 1920's and 1930's.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the world saw—without always comprehending—a test of the real sentiments of the Kremlin subjects. In the early stages of that war, millions of Soviet citizens in the aggregate, both soldiers and civilians, deserted to the German side, in the tragically naive hope that the invaders would liberate them from the hated police-state. Hundreds of thousands of them actually donned German uniforms, in the so-called Vlasov movement and other anti-Soviet formations, in order to fight Communism.

These are no more than a few of the myriad expressions of the ever-growing liberation movement. In nearly four decades of a monopoly of power, the Soviet regime has failed to acquire legitimacy. It must still depend for survival on the physical terror of a swollen police establishment and the mental-psychological terror of massive and unrelenting censorships, propaganda and indoctrination. In relation to the people, the Kremlin has been from the start, and remains today, *on the defensive*, aware that it could not last without colossal and pitiless repression.

But the entrenched dictatorship, exploiting the resources of a

great country and utterly disdainful of the staggering costs in life and suffering, succeeded in industrializing the country. By the end of World War II, the Soviet Union emerged as a mighty nation, second only to the United States in military and economic strength. The upper segments of its society—officials, economic managers, military leaders, some intellectuals—have developed a powerful stake in the survival of the system on which their new powers and privileges rest. It can be inferred, moreover, that millions of others—regardless of their secret opinions of the regime and its methods—take patriotic pride in the enhanced power and international stature of their native land.



Outside observers, looking at the outwardly solid monolith created by Stalin, impressed by its war-making potentials and the magnitude of its police forces, took it for granted that the elements arrayed against liberation in the USSR far outweighed those favoring liberation. The Soviet regime seemed strong enough not only to impose itself permanently on its direct subjects but to prevent the colonial or satellite peoples from breaking out of the Soviet orbit.

Thus hopes for liberation languished.

But after Stalin's death those hopes were revived. Slave revolts in Vorkuta and other Soviet forced-labor camps were symptoms of pressure under the policed surface inside the USSR, just as the East German uprising and disturbances in other satellite countries were outside the USSR. The 20th Party Congress in February, 1956 climaxed by Khrushchev's shattering "secret speech" denouncing some of Stalin's crimes, set in motion forces of doubt and rebellion that continue to shake the Soviet empire to its limits. These hopes in no small measure are reflected in the power struggle between Khrushchev and the Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich group, which has resulted in the exile of the latter.

Today, liberation prospects appear more impressive than ever in the past. And the road to liberation can be discerned more clearly than in the past.

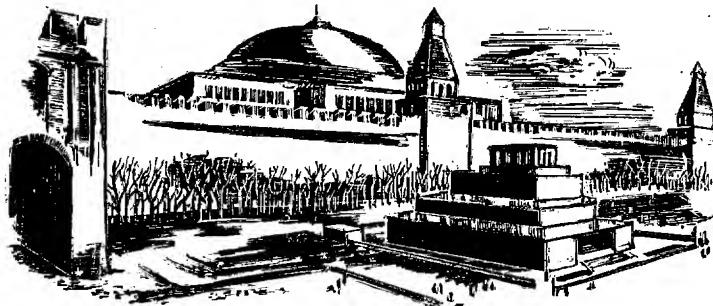
First, since the Khrushchev "de-Stalinization" speech the strong currents for change, long existent at the strategic points, have become more sharply apparent. The fury with which the Hungarians fought for their freedom, the determination with which the Poles struck out for greater independence, are merely climactic expressions of impulses toward freedom and human dignity existing in the Soviet Union itself. The alacrity with which Soviet writers took advantage of the brief "thaw" in their area, the boldness with which Soviet students asked embarrassing questions and demanded truthful answers, indicate a significant intellectual ferment. Traditionally in Russia the intellectuals and artists have *expressed* what great masses of their countrymen *felt*.

Second, it is clear that the forces for change are indigenous—that they are not Western infusions. The Kremlin's attempts to blame the Hungarian uprising upon foreign broadcasts are merely ludicrous. While the sympathy and moral encouragement of free men abroad can stimulate movements for freedom in the Soviet sphere, they cannot create such movements. De-Stalinization itself was primarily a response to domestic pressure, an effort to placate and reassure various groups inside the country, among these the Communists themselves. The events in Poland, leading to the victory of Gomulka, obviously were generated by hopes and despairs inside that country. In short, liberation forces are local, related to internal conditions and emotions.

Third, it is now evident that the crux of the liberation prob-

lem lies in the USSR, not in the satellites—this despite the stronger freedom movements in the satellites. Peripheral uprisings are usually foredoomed as long the the *center* remains immune. And the satellites are in this context peripheral. The detachment of one or another puppet state is possible, but only liberation of Soviet Russia itself can guarantee the larger success. Were a Hungarian-type uprising to occur in the USSR, with the military forces joining the people, there would be no external force to put it down. The pace of across-the-board liberation therefore depends largely on the liberation process in the USSR.

Fourth, a fresh appraisal of what the free world can do to accelerate the indigenous changes looking toward liberation is today possible and necessary. In the 1920's and 1930's the non-



Soviet world on the whole regarded the USSR as beyond the reach of outside influence. But since the latter 1940's the free world, seeking relief from the burdens imposed by the so-called Cold War, slowly came to recognize that it can play a role in evoking and nurturing liberation sentiments already in existence behind the Iron Curtain. Today it is apparent that a true partnership can and must be created between liberation-seeking forces in the USSR and liberation-fostering forces outside. For the first time since 1917 the bond between impulses to freedom in the USSR and the active traditions of the free world has been established.

Let us cite an example. The "secret" Khrushchev speech was provoked by wholly internal conditions. But its effectiveness in

releasing liberation forces was then vastly magnified by the action of the U. S. State Department in making the text public. This pattern, where an internal Soviet maneuver is converted into a victory for liberalizing and liberating forces through free world action, is significant. It points to the potential interplay between Soviet and Western developments toward liberation.

Against this background, a useful definition of liberation suggests itself, in terms of this interplay of freedom forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain: *The Liberation movement is the interaction of pressures toward freedom in the Soviet orbit with the forces of freedom in the free world, looking to the displacement of the Communist despotism by a system of political liberty.*

The New Mask

THE top command of the Soviet regime appears, at this writing, less rigid and less ruthless than in Stalin's day. Whether this transformation—relative at best—will continue, and how long, no one can say. The changes are wholly external; the system of rule, the monopoly of one party and its control by a self-perpetuating oligarchic clique, remain intact. Yet the terror has been measurably relaxed and for the time being the Soviet people breathe more easily.

Stalin's successors have made some visible concessions both at home and abroad. They admitted to Tito that there could be "different roads to socialism." They retreated in Poland when Gomulka, backed by the nation, defied their orders to crush the popular movement for a measure of independence. At home, they released many prisoners from the slave camps and put some curbs on the secret police.

True, *Pravda* has warned that "the Communist Party has been and will be the only master of minds and thoughts." In the creative fields, the "thaw" is hardening again into the familiar wintry forms. The limits of free expression, narrow at best, have been narrowed even more. Yet a residue remains; the rigors of the Stalinist era continue to be tempered by marginal concessions.

Such concessions, of course, are not favors that the new rulers grant in a burst of benevolence. They are adjustments forced upon them by decades of human development. The Soviet

regime through the years has raised literacy, and thereby aroused the thirst for more freedom of inquiry and expression. Soviet industrialization brought into being vast numbers of skilled workers, engineers, technicians, scientists—and these were bound in time to claim a better life and more dignified social status. The huge Soviet armed forces gradually developed vested interests, with officers concerned for their special status, privileges and prestige.

Thus, in one area after another, Soviet society became more multiple, more differentiated. The result is a rudimentary growth of individualism with which the dictatorship, however reluctantly, must try to come to terms.

Today it is no longer easy to mobilize the energies of Soviet citizens by simple, sloganized appeals to ideology. Fanatic ideologies have a way of burning themselves out. The Soviet ideology, however, has been so abused as a crass tool of power that it has lost its earlier idealistic mystique. Soviet youth and workers, for example, are no longer ready to work overtime and as "volunteers" on jobs just for the glory of the revolution. Soviet students are openly cynical about Marxist-Leninist cliches. Increasingly, it would seem, people insist on personal incentives, rewards, and even rights.

The Changing Dictatorship

THE dictatorship today must deal with a different population. An essentially agrarian country has changed in a generation into a country with an urban population of some 80 million. The Soviet townsman, despite the planned isolation from the outside world, has a certain sophistication, certainly as compared with yesterday's peasant. He knows about Hemingway and TV, about jazz and vacuum cleaners and the Olympic Games. He yearns for travel abroad. He is still in awe of the state, but a host of new impressions urges him on toward the new, the untried.

To curb these new appetites for living would require the full terror of the Stalinist era. But it is unlikely that Khrushchev & Company will dare to reimpose unlimited terror, or that they would succeed if they tried. The secret police specialists themselves may be sufficiently aware of the popular mood to counsel

a measure of restraint. Even the bloody Beria is known, in some cases, to have intervened against police crackdowns which he judged would cause more unrest than they would allay. Besides, once self-expression has been cautiously allowed, it is difficult to restore the climate of all-encompassing fear. It is quite possible, therefore, that Soviet terror has met the law of diminishing returns.

The Kremlin in the next years may possibly wish to become, by easy stages, a more enlightened—and hence more efficient—dictatorship. This, of course, not because the ruling oligarchs have had a change of heart but because they are compelled to release more popular creative energy in order to operate a modern technological economy.

The question, however, is whether a totalitarian dictatorship is really capable of harnessing free energies to its service. A little liberty, far from reconciling people to tyranny, emboldens them to demand more and yet more. The dictatorship, in stimulating individual trends for its own purposes, may well be touching off processes it will be unable to control.

A rough contemporary analogy is provided by the current fate of colonial empires. Willingly or otherwise, imperial powers in this generation embarked on policies of concessions to their colonies. The hope was to fortify the colonial system by making it softer and more and more flexible. But their subjects invariably accepted the concessions as mere down payments on eventual liberation. All through history, pressures for a change of regime increased when things were getting better, but not getting better fast enough. Will the Khrushchev policy of limited concessions, similarly, prove to be too little and too late?

The outside world, by its mere existence, affects the answer to that decisive question. As contacts with the West are widened, appetites for Western amenities and freedoms will grow inside the USSR. Without being indiscriminately imitative, the Soviet citizenry is likely to press for some features of democratic societies. No nation is forever immune to the general climate of the surrounding world.

Consider as simple a thing as the recent U.S.-Soviet agricultural exchanges. Though the Soviet "farmers" sent across the ocean were really officials and secret policemen, they did have to report that corn grows better in Iowa than in the Soviet

Union, that American cattle yield more meat and milk, etc. Khrushchev's vow that his country will catch up with the U. S. in food production *per capita* perhaps was influenced by this Soviet glimpse of American productivity.

Naturally, Khrushchev did not dare acknowledge the obvious fact that *private* farming plays a major part in American agricultural superiority. But this economic moral, we may be sure, has not been lost upon the Soviet peasantry, which has never freely accepted collectivization and in whose mind, as Khrushchev once put it, "the little worm of private ownership stirs."

Internal Pressure

IN THE cities, even more than on the land, indigenous pressures and foreign examples could conceivably so modify popular attitudes that the position of the dictatorship would become untenable. The regime would be compelled to make and tolerate changes, always with the intention of keeping them under control, and suddenly discover that a preponderance of power was in other hands. The Soviet overlords—like those in Poland today—would then be forced to walk the frayed tightrope between those who would turn back the clock to old-style Stalinism and the "revisionists" who want to turn the clock forward faster and faster.

In the USSR revisionists might be found in the intermediate levels of the bureaucracy, caught between fear of those above them and pressures from the masses below. They might come to feel (as many of them undoubtedly feel already) that a large degree of self-government was the only way for the USSR—and themselves—to survive.

Or, as the climax of a long process of slow piecemeal change, popular revolution might break out in the USSR. This could happen because of a realization that the Kremlin leopards really could not change their spots. It could happen because the dictatorship, even if it so wished, could not bring prosperity and human dignity without becoming so obviously weak and outmoded as to invite a *coup d'état* by opposition forces.

It is only in such broad, tentative strokes that the process of liberation can be sketched. The most that can be said with assurance is that the ingredients of far-reaching change, looking

to the end of the Communist period, are abundantly at hand. The more Soviet groups and individuals acquire an interest and a stake in change, the less costly will be the final liberation; and the wider the support for the liberation movement, the broader will be the human base out of which new leaders will emerge.

The Nature of Outside Help

Now, what can people outside the USSR contribute to liberation? They can operate on two levels—official and private.

The foreign policy of democratic nations vis-a-vis the USSR needs to be far-seeing, firm, wary and flexible.

A far-seeing democratic foreign policy must implicitly and, where appropriate, explicitly affirm that the Soviet dictatorship is temporary and its eventual demise a certainty. It must affirm the inevitable unity of the world in liberty and deny the validity of a globe forever divided into free and unfree halves. It must take no short-run actions, for whatever temporary convenience, that block the overriding objective of liberation.

A firm democratic foreign policy, backed with strength, will set limits to the expansion of the USSR. It will affirm that the USSR is illegally in possession of many areas it now holds. It will draw a clear line between the Soviet regime and the people, always dramatizing the elementary fact that the ruling power is imposed and has no legitimacy.

A wary democratic foreign policy will appraise a *détente* in East-West relations primarily in terms of its effects on the ultimate goal of liberation. This means that it will rule out actions or policies that raise the prestige and power of the regime. Whatever the forms of a *détente*, the free world must keep up its vigilant guard against the disruptive foreign ambitions of the Kremlin.

A flexible democratic foreign policy will foster *selective* contacts with the USSR and its people. It will not be concerned with the advertisement of foreign ways *per se*, but will show the USSR those aspects of foreign life that are potentially meaningful to the Soviet people. A flexible foreign policy will not expect sensational, immediate results from such exchanges but will have a patient confidence in the power of their example. In receiving visitors from the USSR, democratic governments should examine

such visits on their merits; they will not go overboard on accepting them on the theory that all exchanges are good *per se*; they will accept those exchanges that facilitate making a democratic impact on the USSR and denying the USSR a chance to wage pure propaganda abroad.

But official actions have their limitations. A government-sponsored communication of policies or ideas, from the side of the democracies, at best injects a kind of collective foreign consensus into the atmosphere of the USSR. If liberation is to succeed, that atmosphere also needs individualistic impulses.

Here is where privately sponsored assistance to progressive, liberating tendencies in the USSR comes in. The American Committee for Liberation, founded in 1951 by American individuals deeply concerned for the future of the Soviet peoples, has had substantial experience in working for liberation.

Partnership

THE cornerstone of the American Committee's work is a partnership with leading elements of the emigration from the USSR. The emigration, in its various waves before, during and after World War II, has totalled some two million. The emigration attests to the crimes and failures of the dictatorship, especially its failure to meet human aspirations. It is a living witness, it represents forces dedicated, in terms of patriotism as well as self-interest, to liberation.

That the Kremlin is profoundly disturbed by the existence of a huge, politically conscious emigration is clear enough. On the one hand, Soviet propaganda brands the fugitives as "social refuse . . . traitors . . . mad dogs." On the other hand, it conducts a gigantic and costly campaign to lure this "social refuse" back, using threats and promises to promote repatriation.

Partnership of the free world with the democratic elements in the Soviet emigration is meaningful for the future in that larger cooperation between the peoples now subjected to the Kremlin and those of other nations will have been achieved when the former are liberated. Soviet propaganda at home dismisses the emigres who fuse their efforts with the American Committee as "fascist hirelings." But the Soviet citizen has learned to discount such Kremlin talk. He is likely to see in the

association of his countrymen abroad with Americans a piece of teamwork, a sample of international understanding, propitious for a future without dictatorship.

The emigre-American partnership manifests itself in a broad range of activities; practical projects calling for the cooperation of democratic elements in the emigration. The Committee publishes twice monthly a Russian-language newspaper, *Our Common Cause*, circulated to over 13,000 readers in many countries. The paper not only provides essential news and information to emigres unfamiliar with foreign languages but a discussion forum on current problems directly or indirectly related to the liberation movement. Other joint activities counter the Kremlin's repatriation drive. Also, a series of efforts have been launched to bring the emigration into closer touch with native groups in many countries. Such evidence of cooperation between the emigres and the peoples of the free world countries will show citizens of the USSR their potential of living in harmony not only with the United States, but with all nations.

Neither the American Committee nor the responsible emigration leaders look toward an eventual restoration of the emigres in their former positions of influence or authority in their native land. All that is sought is an equal grant of human rights in a liberated USSR for people of a wide variety of views, including emigres who differed so sharply with the dictatorship that they had to escape from its intolerance.

Learning in the Cause of Liberty

ONE of the free emigration's most significant enterprises is the Institute for the Study of the USSR, located in Munich, Germany. The Institute is an academic corporation under the West German laws, governed by its own Learned Council elected by the membership consisting of former Soviet scholars and scientists, and it receives an annual grant from the American Committee. The Institute has a resident academic staff of some 35 emigre scholars, each a specialist in his field. The more or less regular contributors to its studies number about 300 and it can, when needed, draw on the help of some 1,000 scholars located throughout the world. The researches of the Institute are published in a series of its journals, the monthly English-

language *Bulletin*, the quarterly *Ukrainian Review*, *Belorussian Review* and *Caucasian Review* in English, three other quarterlies in Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian; a semi-annual publication in German, and a Turkish-language bulletin called *Dergi*. Symposia in French and Arabic are also published. In addition, the Institute prints significant monographs and conducts conferences on topics of major interest in Soviet affairs.

The purpose of the Institute is to provide information of maximum reliability on the USSR, so that interested elements in the democracies may have as realistic a picture as possible of



what is happening on the shifting Soviet scene. Reliable information is critically important since what the democracies do to assist liberation must be closely in tune with what people inside the USSR are doing. The Institute staff and its correspondents, most of whom are emigres, have a unique background in and "feel" for the realities in the USSR.

Radio Liberation — The Free Voice

THE principal current enterprise of the emigration and the American Committee is *Radio Liberation* which speaks as a free voice of former citizens of the USSR who are trying to help their fellow countrymen at home achieve liberation.

Radio Liberation, with its main programming offices and studios in Munich and transmitters in Western Europe and the Far East, broadcasts around the clock to the peoples of the USSR programs prepared by nine national desks—Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Byelorussian, Georgian,

North Caucasian, Tatar-Bashkir and Turkestani. Each desk endeavors to speak from the point of view of its own people in support of the common cause.

Radio Liberation is the freest voice speaking directly to the 200,000,000 peoples of the USSR today. It is not bound to defend the policies of any government or sect; its sole concern is to be as responsive as possible to the common interest of those people who want to see liberation achieved. In this spirit, Radio Liberation has from its earliest days adopted *democratic education* as the key to its programming. It must not only assist its listeners in all strata of the population to understand the compelling need for a change; it must go beyond this and help them to build for themselves clear and rather concrete visions of a democratic future and a common understanding of how they can work toward it.

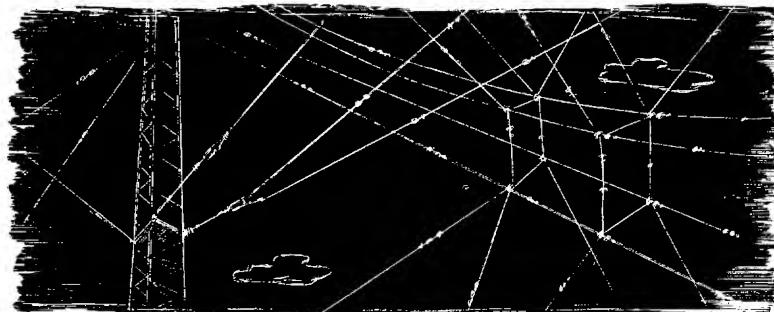
Speaking to the Listener

IN OTHER words, Radio Liberation must help its listeners to develop an understanding of their own *political strength* and how it can be used effectively. In this, RL always tries to avoid giving any impression of telling its listeners what they should think, want or do. Rather, it tries to help them develop their own thinking by illuminating for them the experiences of other peoples in other countries and relating this experience to conditions at home. And from its beginning days, RL has adopted for itself firm restrictions against encouraging acts of premature overt or violent resistance which could only result in fruitless sacrifice. "It will make no promises which it can not itself fulfill, and will never indicate that freedom and democracy can be achieved except through the will and endeavors of the peoples of the USSR themselves."

The programmers at Radio Liberation do not only speak themselves, but they try to broaden the bond between their fellow countrymen and people outside by broadcasting "live" messages from individuals and organizations throughout the free world whose names and voices will be of some significance to the listeners inside. In short, it tries to be for its listeners their broadest and truest window to the world.

The precise effectiveness of such broadcasts must remain an

imponderable, and should remain so. Nothing is more detrimental to a deep and genuine service to people seeking their own, better way than to abuse their trust with sensationalism that may produce flash reactions among them, but in the long run may leave them feeling victimized. Radio Liberation is not in the business of making promises, but only in that of offering food for thought which the listener may accept or reject. The response to the programs seems to justify the course. It comes in the form of mounting Soviet propaganda attacks—which, significantly do not criticize the substance of the programs but



confine themselves to savage abuse of the emigres and the American Committee. A more positive response comes from new emigres, foreign prisoners released from Soviet camps and travellers, who indicate that Radio Liberation is widely and attentively heard in many parts of the USSR. Perhaps the most telling response consists of carefully couched letters of gratitude and approval which Soviet citizens send out—under the guise of private correspondence to friends and relatives abroad—to shifting addresses, given over to Radio Liberation.

What the combined forces of freedom-seeking Soviet citizens, free world foreign policy and the emigration and the American Committee have thus far been able to accomplish toward liberation is hopeful indeed. It infuriates the Communists, who wish to proceed on their course unchecked; it disappoints some anti-Communist firebrands, who see liberation coming only through

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violence. But the struggle for liberation through patient, persevering interaction of the free and the would-be free rides a rising tide. May it culminate in the wave of the future.

First Printing . . . October, 1957

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The Liberation movement is the interaction of pressures toward freedom in the Soviet orbit with the forces of freedom in the free world, looking to the displacement of the Communist despotism by a system of political liberty.

**What is the American Committee for
Liberation and what is it doing to
further its aims?**

**Can we help the Soviet peoples to lib-
erate themselves?**

**Is armed revolution the only course open
to freedom-seeking Soviet citizens?**

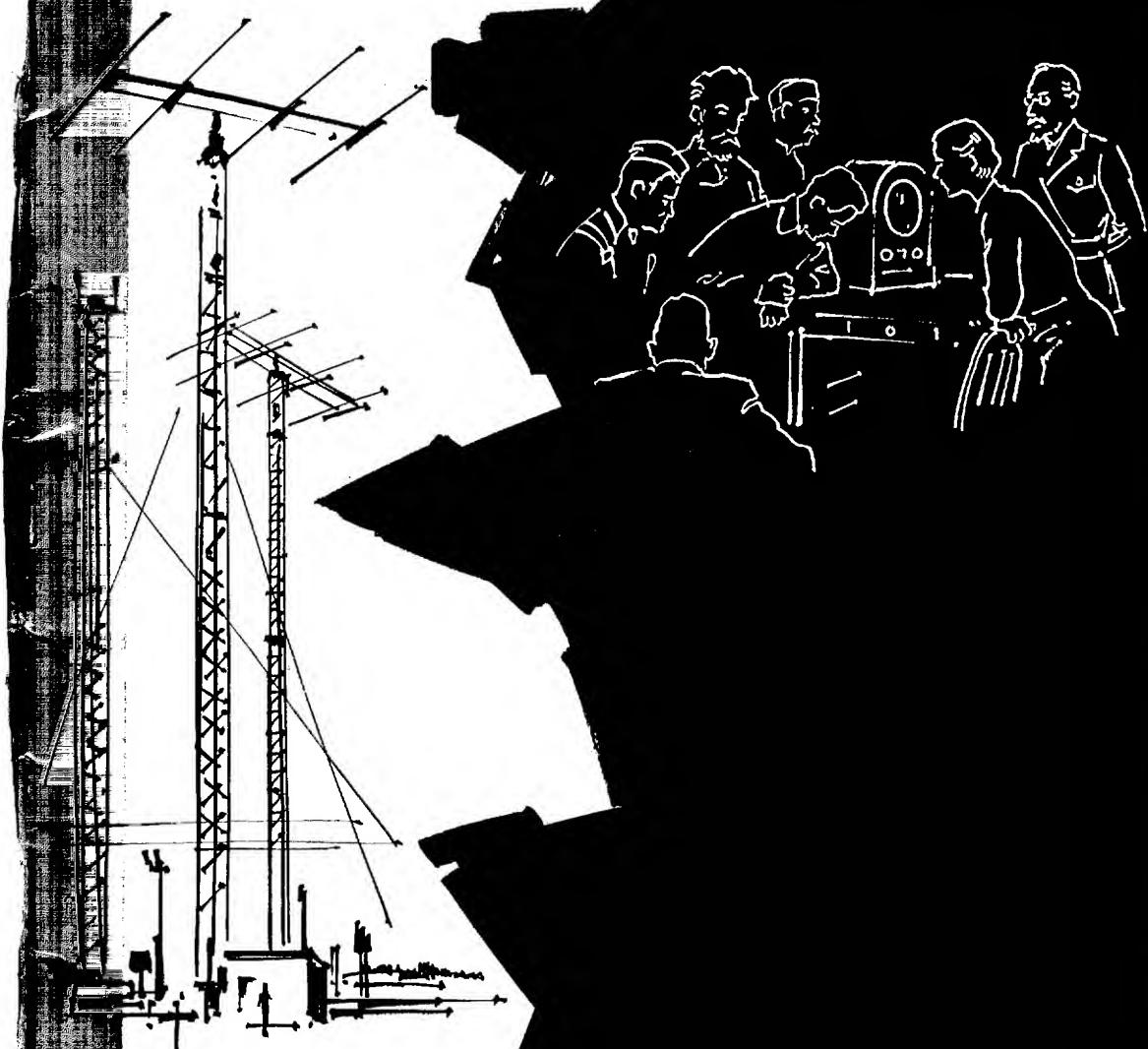
Whose side are the Soviet peoples on?

Does the promotion of a liberation movement push Soviet citizens toward needless sacrifices?

What can free people everywhere do to help?

Approved For Release

SPARKS INTO THE USSR



E STORY OF RADIO LIBERATION

Approved For Release 2004

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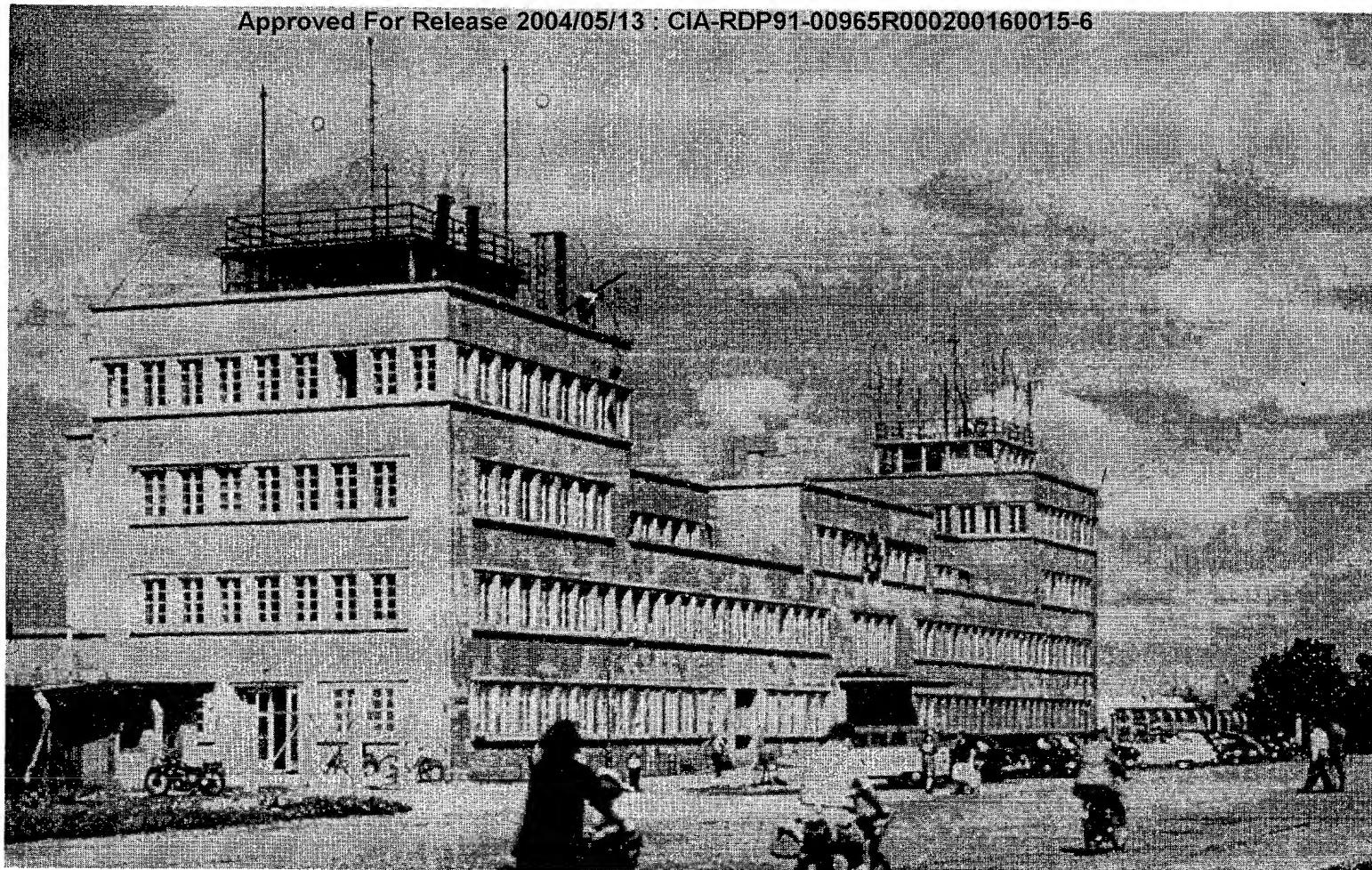
SPARKS INTO THE USSR

The Story of Radio Liberation



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European Headquarters of Radio Liberation at Linenthalstrasse 2, Munich.

SPARKS INTO THE USSR

In a radio studio in Munich, Germany, exiles from the USSR speak to their fellow countrymen, in a way they could never speak under the Soviet rule. Their voices rise, their words flash:

"As far back as the 1920's, our workers had the right to strike.... When will the Khrushchev-Bulganin government show by action, not by words, that it will allow workers and their organizations the right to strike?"

"Dear Listener! We feel that a good many of you would like to get information about life in non-Communist countries. The Party press and radio do not give you unbiased information. We, therefore, present a broadcast entitled *Life Abroad*...."

"Today we broadcast excerpts from a recording made by our correspondent in New York, where the merger convention of the two largest trade union organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—is taking place...."

"A projection of the 1926 population of the Ukraine compared to the 1939 level shows an incriminating discrepancy—6,000,000 Ukrainians missing. Where are the missing 6,000,000 Ukrainians?"

"At the beginning of today's program we shall present the opinions of the foreign press.... According to the West Berlin newspaper *Der Kurier*... Italian Prime Minister Segni has published an article in the newspaper *Popolo di Milano*.... The British newspaper *Manchester Guardian* writes.... An influential American newspaper, *The New York Times*...."

"You will now hear Alexandra Lvovna Tolstoy... the youngest daughter of Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy...."

"In view of the rehabilitation of a number of our writers and historians, when will the people be told the facts of their deaths? Were there any trials?"

"Can our writers and poets write the truth?"

"In the USSR today, hangmen are rehabilitating hangmen. When will Khrushchev and Bulganin rehabilitate the millions of peasants killed?"

Day in, day out, around the clock, Radio Liberation brings the Soviet audience in touch with life in the non-Communist world, gives it the uncensored news, acquaints it with foreign opinion, presents broadcasts from distinguished exiles and outstanding free world figures, encourages a yearning for democracy—and asks tough questions of the present Soviet regime. Radio Liberation is, in many ways, the listening Soviet citizen's substitute for the freedom he does not have.

Radio Liberation began its work on March 1, 1953, from studios in Munich and by means of one 10-kilowatt transmitter in Lampertheim, Germany. At first, there was one 20-minute program, repeated 12 hours a day.

In the last three years, Radio Liberation has upped its transmitting facilities to eleven, at diverse spots on the globe to blanket the USSR, and its total daily (transmitting) time to 228 hours, to be available to Soviet citizens whenever and wherever they dare and can listen. From broadcasting only in the Russian tongue, Radio Liberation has branched out to speaking in 17 languages used in the USSR: Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Ossetin, Adyge-Kabardin, Karachy-Balkar, Chechen-Ingush, Avar and Kumyk. And this formidable effort will grow.

Why?

Radio Liberation is the voice of exiles from the USSR fighting for freedom and democracy in their homeland. Radio Liberation's broadcasts are addressed to all citizens of the USSR, including Soviet occupation forces and Soviet missions abroad, those who can themselves hear the broadcasts and those who receive its message indirectly. Radio Liberation's ultimate aim is the liberation of the peoples of the USSR from the Communist dictatorship and the achievement by them of a democratic order in its place.

Does it work?

Please read Pages 6-18.

What is Radio Liberation's message?

Examples are on pages 19-32.

Who does the broadcasting?

Pages 33-38.

Who's behind it?

Pages 39-45 explain.

What would Radio Liberation like from you?

Please look at Pages 46-47.

As these lines were being written, Radio Liberation received one of its many letters from inside the USSR (see Chapter II). The language of the letter is guarded, but it is as poignant as a document of people in the catacombs aspiring to light and deliverance could be:

"Glory to Jesus Christ!

"I received your letters [*i.e., broadcasts*] and am so happy that you are giving us hope and consolation and that all will be well. It is a great comfort to me that you are working.

"I have been moved to a house [*i.e., region*] where the landlady [*i.e., Soviet administration*] is very unpleasant. She takes everything and tells more lies than I would have believed a human being could tell. She exploits me at every step and is quite capable of taking the last shirt off my back. My children are very badly brought up. I have to work so hard that I have no time to look after them.

"I am waiting for you to come."

Radio Liberation heralds the advent of freedom in the USSR.

WHO LISTENS?

Radio Liberation gets through. It is heard by the peoples of the USSR. And Radio Liberation apparently hurts the rulers of the USSR.

Here is some of the evidence:

From time to time, travelers with a knowledge of the Russian language come to Radio Liberation to volunteer their impressions of the country and its people. Most often they are prompted to contact Radio Liberation because they have happened upon persons who have reported to them that listening to Radio Liberation and other Western broadcasts is a daily habit. The Western travelers to the USSR provide the staff of Radio Liberation with valuable information — how many listen in the Soviet Union — how the programs are getting through — and general listener reaction.

One such traveler recently gave Radio Liberation's staff a detailed report of listener reaction from a cross section of Russian people, including students, chance acquaintances on train journeys, workers, peasants and professional men and women.

This is what those Russians had to say:

An Estonian worker when asked if he listened to foreign broadcasts, replied, "Yes, every chance I get. Jamming is bad but I hear them late at night or early in the morning about 5 a.m. Everybody listens."

Asked if the peasants listened, the Estonian asserted that "they all listen too."

A group of 15 Russian students all admitted they listened to foreign broadcasts from time to time. They agreed that jamming in Moscow made listening more difficult than elsewhere in the Soviet Union where jamming is not as concentrated.

One student, when asked his opinion of Radio Liberation, said, "They tell us things that contradict what our own press tells us so that we cannot be certain whom to believe."

Another student added, "The programs are quite interesting for us. Our only criticism is that they broadcast information about us that we just can't believe."

A group of 15 persons from every walk of life all admitted to listening to foreign broadcasts and one of the group, a lad of 15 years of age, said he listened regularly in the early morning hours.

Another source of "inside" information concerning the success of Radio Liberation broadcasts are the groups of German returnees from the USSR.

One such man interviewed by Radio Liberation staff members said he initially heard Radio Liberation in his first prison camp in Dubrovlak in the fall of 1953.

Another returnee, who was in the Vorkuta slave labor camp during the strike of the inmates in 1953, said he first heard of Radio Liberation in the summer of 1954. He reported that a friend of his at Vorkuta, a highly educated man, listened regularly to Radio Liberation and that the friend thought "on the whole the broadcasts were good." The returnee himself had not heard foreign broadcasts because he had never been allowed to leave the prison compound.

He explained that those who were able to listen reported to selected groups of prisoners who were considered trustworthy. When his interviewer asked him if Radio Liberation was popular, he answered:

"It was exceedingly popular. We had people there who had lost all hope and thought that the West was not at all interested in them, and that it was overawed by the Soviet government. And it was precisely Radio Liberation that gave them hope again...."

Still another source of information for the staff of Radio Liberation is information brought out by defectors from the Soviet Union. One such defector, a 23-year old Belorussian sergeant who defected in May, 1956, said: "The people who speak over Radio Liberation know the USSR. They appeal to listeners to take certain measures, and they tell people about the true state of world affairs."

The general impression gathered from these reports of Western travelers, returnees and defectors is that listening to foreign radio broadcasts is not uncommon, for the greater number of those living in the Soviet Union who were questioned admitted to listening and volunteered the information that they knew of many more who also listened.

Although a great many persons interviewed by the Westerners were either reluctant to admit that they gave any credence to the information about the USSR on Western broadcasts, the fact that they continue to listen is an indication that at least the seeds of doubt have been planted... and it gives those working for their liberation hope that one day they will believe.

Jamming

Ten minutes after it went on the air, Radio Liberation was jammed by the Soviets. As Radio Liberation stepped up its activity, the Soviets responded with ever-heavier jammings. Today hundreds of jamming stations, spreading from the western edges of Czechoslovakia and Poland eastward over the entire Communist orbit to Siberia, try to black out the message of Radio Liberation. On the whole, they fail.

Radio Liberation has combatted the jammers through technical improvement of antenna design and through flexible transmitter operation. To its transmitting facilities in West Germany it has added transmitters in the Far East. Radio Liberation has blanketed the USSR from several directions, weaving in between the jammers.

This policy has paid off. Extensive long-range monitoring from half a dozen points on the periphery of the USSR has demonstrated that Radio Liberation delivers an intelligible signal to almost all parts of the vast country. And direct confirmation of this fact has come from Soviet citizens themselves.

Murder

Abo Fatalibey, the chief of the Radio Liberation desk broadcasting to Soviet Azerbaijan, was murdered in Munich, presumably by Soviet agents, in November, 1954.

Leonid Karas, a writer on the Radio Liberation desk broadcasting to Soviet Belorussia, was drowned, presumably by Soviet agents, near Munich in September, 1954.

These were portentous hints that Radio Liberation, after only a year and a half of operation, may have been hurting the Kremlin so badly that it resorted to ghastly retaliation on foreign soil in order to eliminate key staff members and to frighten the rest of Radio Liberation's emigre personnel into silence and resignation.

Needless to say, Radio Liberation's work went on, security precautions were doubled, and the Soviets were forced to less brutal but equally desperate measures which disclosed their continuing fear of, and fury at, Radio Liberation.

Soviet Propaganda Assaults

Unable to intimidate Radio Liberation into curtailing or wholly cutting off its broadcasts, or to jam the station's signal, the Soviets finally resorted to press and radio attacks to discredit Radio Liberation and to warn Soviet listeners against it.

At first, only innuendo and indirect attacks were used. Through most of 1954, the Moscow newspaper *Pravda*, Radio Kiev and newspapers in the Soviet Ukraine obliquely slashed at Radio Liberation, attacking the anti-Communist emigres working with it and the Americans sponsoring it, but never mentioning the station by name. This was the typically cautious approach of Soviet propaganda, which generally tries to bring its opponents down with piecemeal cuts. The Soviets apparently did not wish to name Radio Liberation — and thus call it to the attention of many who had not heard of it previously.

There was a slip as early as December, 1954. *Zarya Vostoka*, a paper in Tiflis, Georgia, for the first time went after Radio Liberation by name, but apparently got a little ahead of the top-level Soviet time-table. The powerful *Pravda* in Moscow reprinted *Zarya Vostoka*'s article a day later, but carefully refrained from mentioning Radio Liberation directly.

Only four months later, the Kremlin threw caution to the

winds. On April 17, 1955, the Moscow newspaper *Izvestia* exploded:

"Radio Liberation is an organ for spreading dirty falsifications and black slanders fabricated by American intelligence about the creative toil of the democratic peoples."

This charge, launched by one of the two most important Soviet propaganda press organs, seemed to signify that the previous campaigns against Radio Liberation's had failed, that Radio Liberation's impact on Soviet listeners was increasing, and that the only weapon left to the Kremlin was an out-and-out attack. The *Izvestia* pronouncement was more than a full-scale attempt to defame Radio Liberation. It was a lightly veiled threat to all Soviet citizens that listening to Radio Liberation would constitute a specially punishable offense.

And so, Radio Liberation had come of age. It had arrived as the vital spokesman of the discontented and oppressed within the USSR — and its arrival was confirmed by the Kremlin itself.

But that was not all.

A Special Soviet Weapon Against Radio Liberation

Soviet listeners and the Soviet authorities soon became aware that Radio Liberation did not speak for simply a handful of individuals; it represented a major force, the emigration. Here was something the Soviet authorities had been ignoring or had dismissed contemptuously as "social refuse" and "scum." In ever increasing measure, however, the emigration from the USSR supplied Radio Liberation with talented broadcasters — gave the station ideas and inspiration — and by its backing increased the station's authority and influence in the USSR.

With this influence, Radio Liberation was building a great following among the so-called "internal emigration" within the Soviet Union — the legion of people who so dislike the Soviet system that even exile seems preferable and is what they would choose if the choice were theirs to make.

Momentum developed to the point where the Kremlin became sharply aware that it must destroy this emigre support and deprive Radio Liberation of the services of qualified emigrants. The Soviets had to devise special means to meet this

threat to their domination. In other words, the Soviets had too woo the emigration; they had to try to attract redefectors in order to deprive Radio Liberation of its men, its ideas, its moral support and the authority it derived from this support. They developed their compulsive redefinition campaign which is now in full swing. A large part of the credit for forcing the Soviets into this drastic expedient may properly be claimed by Radio Liberation.

But these Soviet stratagems have only had the effect of showing Radio Liberation staff members how effective their work is, and have made them more eager and determined to carry it on.

Proof that Radio Liberation is a main target of the Soviet redefinition campaign may be found in the propaganda of the chief vehicles of the campaign, the East Berlin *Committee for Return to the Homeland* and the *Return to the Homeland Radio*.

Here is a sampling of *Return to the Homeland Radio's* broadcasts:

¶ September 26, 1955: "Countrymen: The bourgeois press and radio, and especially anti-Soviet radio stations like Radio Liberation and others which are supported by the resources of the capitalist intelligence services, poison your minds [i.e., the minds of the Soviet refugees] from day to day, from year to year, trying to impress on you that the Western 'paradise'... is a completely suitable place for you, the homeless...."

¶ October 13, 1955: "Agents are offering 20 marks to anyone willing to appear on Radio 'Enslavement' (that is what our countrymen call the 'anti-Soviet radio station in Munich sponsored by a foreign intelligence agency')."

¶ October 24, 1955: Staff members of Radio Liberation are warned to "think things over properly," to give up their anti-Soviet work and to return to the USSR before it is too late.

¶ January 9, 1956: The associates of Radio Liberation are accused of jamming *Return to the Homeland Radio's* programs.

¶ February 24, 1956: "Radio Liberation and others, as well as all kinds of anti-Soviet emigre newspapers, have been trying systematically to intimidate Soviet displaced persons. In par-

ticular, the slanderous statement is being circulated...that Soviet citizens who voluntarily return to their homeland are subjected to reprisals in the USSR."

In short, within and without the USSR, the Soviet authorities admit the impact of Radio Liberation by going all-out after it.

The Audience Speaks

When Radio Liberation began to broadcast, its staff members and backers were convinced that a large audience in the USSR was waiting for a free, native voice to speak to them. Four years of broadcasting experience have given rich proof that the conviction was also a fact.

With these imponderables, official Soviet attacks, however valuable as evidence of Radio Liberation's effectiveness, could not be regarded as conclusive. Word from the peoples in the USSR was what would count. Happily, many of them — defectors, returnees from concentration camps and legal emigrants — have brought out word that Radio Liberation is indeed heard — and liked over the whole broad expanse of the USSR, one-sixth of the earth's surface.

¶ A young Russian, now a political refugee in the West, reports that he heard Radio Liberation while he was a soldier with the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany. Together with two other members of his tank crew, he listened over the tank's receiver. Their interest in picking up Radio Liberation broadcasts had been stimulated by other soldiers, who discussed Radio Liberation much more frequently than any other Western station.

¶ Another Soviet soldier, now also in the West, heard Radio Liberation while stationed in Hungary. The station had been guardedly talked about by other members of his unit.

¶ The East European satellite states respond to Radio Liberation. A young student who had fled Czechoslovakia told of constantly listening to the broadcasts. The boy pointed out that the Russian-language training which the Soviets were foisting on the satellites was boomeranging, because it made Rus-

sian-language broadcasts from the free world available to satellite youth.

¶ In Vilna, the capital of Soviet-annexed Lithuania, a number of people listen to Radio Liberation. This is the testimony of an elderly woman whom the Soviets recently permitted to emigrate.

¶ Sometimes anti-Soviet individuals hear of Radio Liberation from the Soviet police itself, which apparently has been put on a nation-wide alert against sympathizers with the station. One man, recently freed from a concentration camp in Soviet Moldavia, reports that his police interrogator was the first to ask him if he had ever heard of the station. When he replied that he was glad it existed, he was given three days' special punishment.

¶ Soviet concentration camp inmates particularly welcome Radio Liberation's programs and take comfort and hope from them. A German recently released from the notorious Vorkuta camp in the Arctic Circle, the scene of a desperate and spectacular prisoners' strike in 1953, has reported that since the strike some prisoners are allowed to visit outside the camp zone and consequently could hear some foreign broadcasts. The German was told by a Russian prisoner who had begun to enjoy the visiting privileges that he had heard Radio Liberation and found its programs well informed on conditions in the Soviet Union. Gradually, the German observed, privileged Russian camp inmates spread the word of the Radio Liberation broadcasts to others who could not hear them at first hand. The effect was electric. "Some of the people at Vorkuta had almost lost hope," the German said, "and then Radio Liberation raised their hopes much higher than anything else they had heard."

¶ The German's report confirmed and elaborated on one made in 1954 by a Greek who had also been confined at Vorkuta. The testimony of the German and the Greek together indicate that Radio Liberation had been heard almost continuously for at least a year and a half in that explosive prison camp.

¶ Not only at northerly Vorkuta, but in concentration camps deep in Soviet Central Asia, Radio Liberation seems to

be a force. A Hungarian released from a camp in Kazakhstan described how he and Russian inmates heard the station "completely free of jamming, although there was occasional fading." Hearing anti-Soviet broadcasts, the prisoners declared, was like "being treated to a glass of vodka."

¶ In Stalin's own home territory, in Soviet Georgia, Radio Liberation is well known, according to borders-crossers into Iran. A leading Communist official, on one occasion, showed his knowledge of Radio Liberation broadcasts when, having gotten drunk at a festival, he claimed that the station could not frighten him. A prize-winning worker from a metallurgical plant, on the other hand, was sufficiently impressed by the programs to declare publicly that the days of Communism were probably numbered.

¶ A valuable comment on Radio Liberation broadcasts was made by a Soviet military defector, who had evidently listened to them attentively: "When we listen to your broadcasts, we blaze with rage at everything that is happening in the Soviet Union and hate everything, but we are helpless to do anything about it. We are only furious and that is all.... In my opinion, Radio Liberation should be genuinely revolutionary.... You may rest assured that there are people who are willing to act...."

¶ A 26-year-old bear tamer, Viktor Iljinsky, traveling with a Soviet circus in West Europe, escaped from the circus train at Aachen, Germany, January 26, 1956 and told of listening nightly to Radio Liberation after the show as the circus traveled. Iljinsky had served as a non-commissioned officer in North Korea. He told staff members of Radio Liberation who interviewed him in a refugee camp after his escape that he had sought an opportunity to escape ever since he heard former Foreign Minister Molotov claim over Radio Moscow that there were no Soviet units participating in the Korean war or stationed in North Korea. Iljinsky knew better, for at the time he was serving with his signal corps in North Korea as a technician maintaining communications between the airport and radar station in Anshu.

Iljinsky reported that he first listened to a Western broadcast as early as 1947 in Omsk and that he last listened in Magnitogorsk, in the Urals, just prior to leaving with the circus

troupe for Brussels. Iljinsky further asserted that everyone knows of the existence of foreign radio stations broadcasting to the Soviet Union and everyone from generals down to kolkhozniks (collective farmers) listens to Western broadcasts. The bear trainer told his Radio Liberation interviewers that a great asset of Radio Liberation is its "colossal irony," and that he preferred Radio Liberation to other Western broadcasts.

The Audience Writes

But Radio Liberation was still dissatisfied with the evidence of its effectiveness that it gathered from official Soviet attacks and from the reports of defectors, returnees, and legal emigrants. It had always to be borne in mind that the Soviet authorities, in their suspicious frenzy and repressive zeal, might be straining at a gnat. It had likewise to be remembered that escapees from the USSR might well be so overjoyed at their deliverance that they would exaggerate their praise of any anti-Soviet institution, including Radio Liberation.

Therefore, Radio Liberation embarked on a further test of audience reaction and of the audience: it began to solicit letters from its listeners in the USSR.

Selected broadcasts of Radio Liberation began to name innocuous-sounding addresses in Berlin and outside the Iron Curtain to which listeners were asked to write if they wished. The addresses given were apparently those of private individuals — people in the West with whom Soviet citizens might have become acquainted during the vast hurly-burly of World War II, or with whom Soviet citizens might be remotely related. Every precaution was taken by Radio Liberation, and urged on its Soviet listeners, to make any resulting correspondence as censor-proof as possible. And the program of letter solicitation was inaugurated only after it had been determined that the volume of ordinary mail into and out of the USSR was sufficiently large to help cloak the specific correspondence that Radio Liberation hoped it would receive.

What was expected of the correspondence campaign?

First, as a minimum, it would give some further indication of who was receiving our message and where. No doubt

many of the letters would be mailed with false return addresses and pseudonyms of the senders; yet a careful study of the contents might help reveal between the lines what type of people were writing and what their political sentiments were.

Third, and more important, letters might help establish a much closer relationship between the audience and Radio Liberation. A mere listener is passive; a listener who can respond and reach his radio station begins to identify himself with it and its message.

Fourth, and probably most important, letters would give the Soviet listeners a chance to *do* something. As a defector cited above declared, some people listening to Radio Liberation broadcasts "blaze with rage at everything that is happening in the Soviet Union, but are helpless to do anything about it . . ." Such impotence could turn to frustration. But if Soviet citizens "blazing with fury" could write to Radio Liberation, no matter how guardedly, they could feel that they were making a practical contribution to the anti-Soviet struggle, that they were somewhat enlisted, that they were helping to prepare for the decisive phase of the contest.

Letters have been arriving for several years.

This alone is noteworthy.

The volume of letters is not large. Certain trends, however, stand out clearly.

Some letters reflect the official Soviet propaganda line. There are warnings: "You are traitors to the Russian people and it is none of your business to 'bemoan' Russia," writes a locksmith from Tambov. "If you traitors are thinking of again fighting the country of the Soviets, you will be given what you deserve. This time we shall be merciless."

Then there is the direct tie-in with the Soviet redefection campaign, that has already been shown to consider Radio Liberation a principal obstacle. A letter from an Igor Sizov declares "You dear gentlemen have fled Russia and are roaming the world but don't give us a lot of ****. You'd do better to apply for permission to come back to us. Perhaps our government would take you and you could work honestly with our people."

¶ On the anti-Soviet side, one group of letters is cautious and only establishes contact. An anonymous postcard came in from Minsk, hailing one of Radio Liberation's humorous commentators on Soviet life. Others ask Radio Liberation for signs that their cryptic message has arrived: "If you receive this letter, I beseech you urgently to sing to me your favorite song, 'We Met by Chance.'"

Lonely, frightened calls for help and response, these notes.

¶ A second group of letters sounds as though its writers felt the Soviet censorship peering over their shoulders and yet simply had to get some word out to Radio Liberation. Thus a letter from Mogilev first makes its obeisances to the censor: "I want to tell you in the name of all the children of the Soviet Union that not one Soviet citizen will believe your calumnies . . ." And then, veiled but basically clear, comes what the writer really wanted to say: "Yes, we also have some people here who will believe your slander . . ." i.e., Radio Liberation is being heard. Finally, the writer appeals: ". . . but let it be said to your sorrow that their number [those who believe Radio Liberation] is very small . . ." i.e., the resistance group in the writer's acquaintance is limited, but perhaps more strenuous efforts on the part of the station will enlarge it.

¶ A third group of anti-Soviet letters is circumspectly informative. For instance, a Ukrainian living in Poland writes to the cover address the names and locations of churches that have been defaced and destroyed. A woman from the Baltic sadly infers that her father and mother have been liquidated. A loquacious youngster from Kharkov describes the misery of peasants on the farms, hints that a new aristocracy of privilege is waxing fat in the USSR, makes fun of Soviet propaganda films and prophesies that a man of his political leanings will probably wind up in Siberia. And a man writing from Lvov discreetly warns Radio Liberation staff members that "they had better not succumb to the blandishments of the Soviet redefection. Life here goes on as before, and nothing new has been added since you left."

¶ Finally, there are the rave notices for Radio Liberation, couched in the veiled language that the circumstances of the

correspondence require. "Many thanks for your dear letters," reads a postcard. "Your relatives will be very grateful that you are young and strong enough to do intensive work for yourself and the everyday good," says a letter evidently approving the political programs of Radio Liberation. Even free verse poems come in, to wit:

"I wish you a Happy New Year
I wish you health, success
Drink my health and
I will drink yours."

Radio Liberation carefully answers the worthwhile letters over the air. This lets the senders know that their communications have been received, gives them a sense of contact with and confidence in the world outside the USSR — and stimulates an eventual audience reaction far beyond the present best hopes of Radio Liberation and the present worst fears of the Kremlin.

What Does It Mean?

Thus Radio Liberation does not only get through to its listeners, the listeners now get through to Radio Liberation. A potentially cataclysmic dialogue has begun.

Radio Liberation does not wish or aim to goad its devoted listeners into overt, rash anti-Soviet actions that would only lead to their liquidation. It does work, in every department of Soviet life, toward a transformation of thinking habits, values, convictions and wills so that the Soviet state some day, bereft of form and following, will wither away.

The reaction to Radio Liberation from the Kremlin, from the defectors and now from correspondence within the USSR give some reason to hope that the cataclysm in the USSR will come — and quietly. The letters and reports from within the Soviet orbit and deep within the USSR establish that there is in being in the USSR a great body of anti-Soviet sentiment that can respond with gratitude and excitement when someone speaks for it and to it. And, this anti-Soviet element appears to have given its trust to Radio Liberation.

THE MESSAGE

Here is what USSR listeners hear from Radio Liberation Bringing the World In

One of Radio Liberation's major aims is to normalize the lives of its shut-in and cut-off listeners, to bring them as much as possible into touch and step with the color and variety and problems of human existence in the wide world around the USSR.

To this end, a typical day's broadcasting from Radio Liberation will include news from all over the earth — very often news that Soviet newspapers and radios withhold or only slowly divulge, and then in carefully doctored fashion; reviews of the world press, ordinarily not available to Soviet readers; commentaries on the top current ideological topics in the Soviet Union; readings from classic Russian fiction or poetry, things often swept aside by the cult of materialism; descriptions of life abroad; short talks by exiles to their countrymen back home; studies of the history of the USSR, in objective and scholarly fashion, not in the style of the official Soviet rewriting of historical fact; humorous parodies of some new official Soviet slogan or vain claim to greatness; and a message from a distinguished free world figure to the people in the USSR.

When events of great importance to Soviet listeners take place, Radio Liberation gives them coverage worthy of a major radio network. For example, when the great U.S. trade unions, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, consummated their merger, Radio Liberation considered this an event of cardinal importance for the USSR — a land where Socialism is preached but free trade unionism is forbidden. Accordingly, an extensive broadcast of the merger convention proceedings was flashed to the USSR. During it, Soviet listeners heard Walter P. Reuther say: "You

look where labor is free and strong and you will find that there the Communists are weak. But where labor is weak, where there is great social injustice and great poverty, the Communists are able to forge that poverty into power — and therefore we say, free labor is effective in the struggle for peace and freedom, because free labor understands that the struggle is tied together with the struggle for social justice."

On another occasion, highly significant for USSR listeners, a Radio Liberation correspondent pinned down Soviet journalists visiting the U.S., and drew from them damaging admissions about Soviet censorship.

Radio Liberation's correspondent asked Soviet journalist Boris Polevoi: "Why, in the Soviet Union, is it considered necessary to jam Russian-language broadcasts emanating from outside?"

Polevoi's reply — recorded on tape: "I believe that we are more qualified to judge what is going on inside our country than the gentlemen who give us advice from the other side of the ocean Believe me, we are smart people, just as you are, and each nation should handle its own problems — and we are not doing so badly Besides, gentlemen, excuse my bluntness but I am among fellow journalists where I will be excused for lack of politeness -- we just don't like to receive rotten merchandise."

The world-wide community of ideas, the world-wide interchange of thought, has seldom been more brashly brushed aside and intellectual xenophobia preached in its stead. Through Radio Liberation, people in the USSR heard about it.

Another broadcast of Radio Liberation, on the occasion of President Eisenhower's decision to run for a second term, took a long and thoughtful look at the political principles of the American Presidency. There was an extended explanation of the constitutional limits on the President's powers — a useful message to people in the USSR, where the dictators' powers run unchecked.

Radio Liberation has been quick to take advantage of upheavals within the Soviet empire which have demonstrated that the urge to freedom has not been extinguished in the captive

peoples under the Kremlin's yoke. Radio Liberation's effort has been directed toward an identification of the interests of the subject peoples in revolt and those of the Soviet soldiery who are being given the task of subduing them. When the Hungarian people rose up in November, 1956, and the Soviet army was moved in, Radio Liberation sent out this fervent appeal on its transmission beamed to Hungary:

"Comrades, soldiers and officers:

"The eyes of the world are now on you. The events in Hungary are a struggle of the entire people for the right to a free and decent life. You Soviet soldiers and officers in Hungary know this. You have seen the workers and students on the streets of Budapest and other cities. You have heard their demands. You know that workers and peasants of the entire country have joined them. Units of the Hungarian army have gone over to their side. As you know, in many cases the insurgents workers, students and peasants have obtained rifles, tommy guns, machine guns, and, in some cases, even artillery and tanks from our soldiers.

"Comrades, soldiers and officers:

"Why are many of our soldiers helping the insurgents? It is clear why: out of a feeling of solidarity and sympathy for the workers, students and peasants. The same solidarity and sympathy for the insurgents is being openly expressed in demonstrations by their brothers in Albania, East Berlin, Warsaw and throughout Poland. The ultimate victory of the Hungarian workers and peasants is assured. It depends on you whether that victory will be one for our people as well."

At the time that the people of East Germany rebelled in June, 1953, against the Soviet overlords and their Communist German puppets, Radio Liberation addressed itself to the Soviet troops in these words:

"Soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army: The German workers' struggle against Kremlin oppression is unfolding before your eyes... When ordered to fire on the demonstra-

tors, remember they are not enemies of our country but are defenders of our freedom. They seek liberation from the same yoke which oppresses our fathers, brothers, mothers and sisters The workers of East Berlin are fighting for the cause of all mankind and for the delivery of the whole world, including our motherland, from Communism. Help them!"

Many Radio Liberation broadcasts deal with elementary and practical problems of everyday life — wages, prices, farming, labor productivity, domestic cares, education, citizenship.

Throughout, the Soviet listener gets a glimpse of a life different from his own, a picture that he may some day seek to emulate, a picture that at least widens his state-controlled horizon.

Helping Inside

But for all Radio Liberation's importation of news and life abroad, the citizens of the USSR still have to cope with their unique and difficult problems. The human situation in the USSR also requires that Radio Liberation:

- (1) honor the unyielding anti-Soviet elements in the USSR by chronicling their battles and triumphs;
- (2) impel onward the anti-Soviet struggle in the USSR by laying bare the weaknesses of the Kremlin;
- (3) focus the anger of specific groups and classes in the USSR against the Kremlin;
- (4) chart the possible future of these groups and classes that might replace their present lot;
- (5) show that free-world sympathy in ample measure exists for the fighters against the Soviet system.

Honor Through News

The men and women of the anti-Soviet resistance live for their defiant acts — and even for their martyrdom. These things are their legacy; and the very least that Radio Liberation can do for them is to publish and celebrate their gallant quest. Thus Radio Liberation rewards the bold with recognition and stirs the abiding by example.

Radio Liberation has reported that —

¶ Prisoners in the immense Kingir concentration camp in Karaganda province hurled rock-filled bottle grenades at their MVD guards. Only T-34 tanks, crushing rebellious women participants, managed to quell the uprising. But even so the prisoners' revolt was not in vain. The camp working day was cut to eight hours, invalids and youngsters were set free, and many prisoners amnestied.

¶ The bones of women slave laborers pave the roadway of the Tyshet-Lena railroad in Siberia. The women workers perished in the murderous task of laying ties and rails in all kinds of relentless weather. But no one knowing of their fate could fail to vow retribution for their sacrifice.

¶ The incredible 1953 uprising at the Vorkuta concentration camp in the Arctic Circle is commemorated by a Radio Liberation anniversary broadcast each year. On one such commemorative broadcast, like a great ringing bell, the voice of the Free International Federation of Former Political Prisoners, tolled the historic tale of Vorkuta heroism.

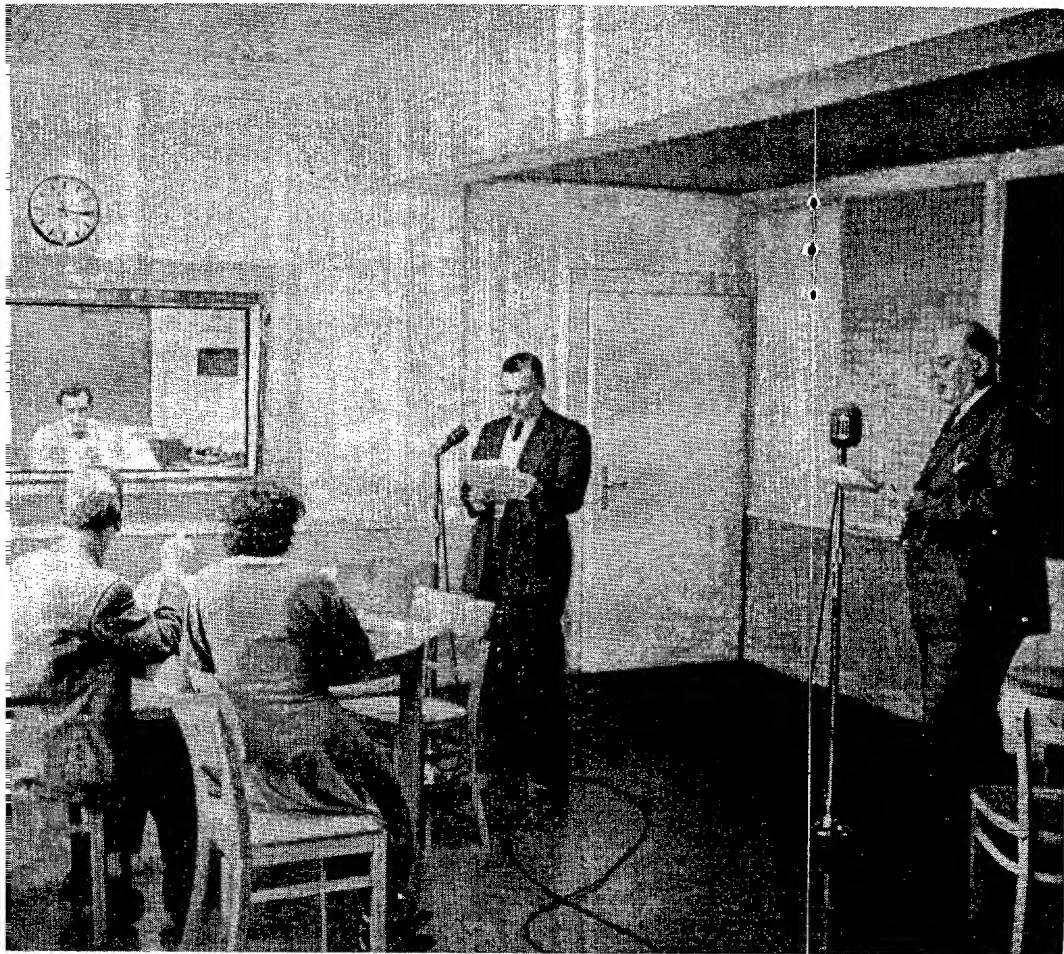
"Comrades and Brothers! We do not want to assure you once again of comradeship and respect and understanding. Nor do we want to send you little words of encouragement. The prisoners in Vorkuta . . . want freedom or nothing. We know Vorkuta — some of us were there.

"You face cold, hard labor, hunger, guards, death. Despite all this . . . some of us are here — free. Many of us have died but some of us have been saved. Those who have been saved remember the hardships you still have to endure and they will never rest until all political prisoners all over the world are permanently free. This we pledge.

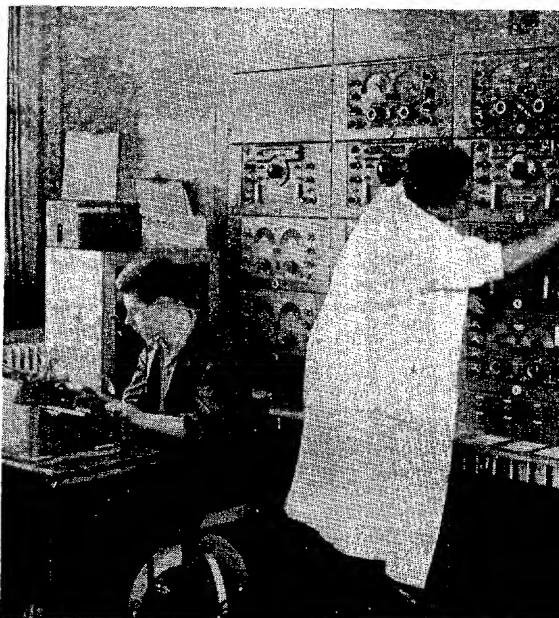
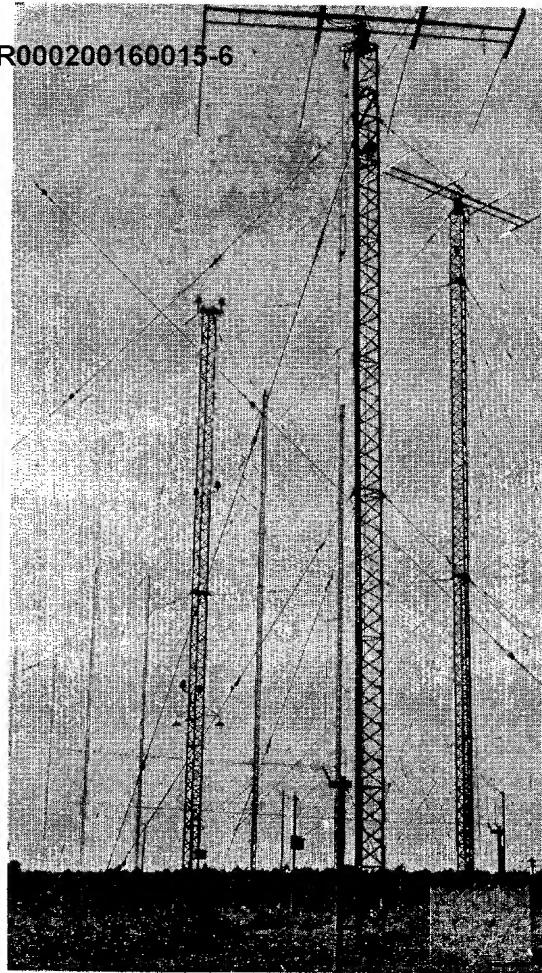
"We do not ask you to believe this. We ask you to endure until freedom comes. It always comes. It will come."

This poignantly perceptive address not only to the inmates of Vorkuta, but to all the anti-Soviet captives of all the USSR was seconded over Radio Liberation by statements from: The Very Reverend James A. Pike, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, George Meany and Walter

To do its job right, Radio Liberation requires a complex of transmitting antenna whose units are capable of bypassing broadcasts to different areas of the vast Soviet Union, from the Leningrad area in the northwest to the Caucasus in the south. One ground-level photograph cannot show the entire range of this complex in Germany. Here is pictured one section constructed in accordance with the newest principles of electronic science.



Radio Liberation's headquarters has six modernly equipped studios with the necessary facilities for recording programs such as the one shown in progress in this picture. Behind soundproof window, the producer is giving signals to the emigres at the microphones while the engineer beside him attends to the controls of the recording equipment. The recordings are fed to the transmitters some distance away over leased lines. In the event of important news "breaks," Radio Liberation feeds its programs directly to the transmitters from its studios over these leased lines.



An essential supporting operation for Radio Liberation's broadcasting is the monitoring of broadcasts originating inside the Soviet Union. Radio Liberation's emigre writers are quick to detect the propaganda themes, the distortions and outright lies in these broadcasts and their scripts enable the station to counter the propaganda lines and expose the deceptions practiced by the Soviet press and radio. The monitoring department quickly provides the writers with transcripts of the Soviet broadcasts. Here are shown an engineer tuning in a broadcast and a transcriber typing the text of a broadcast from a recording.

Reuther of the U.S. AFL-CIO, the United Mine Workers of America, American Socialist leader Norman Thomas, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and many others.

Also among the speakers was John Noble, an American who fell into the clutches of the Soviets in 1945 and was sent to Vorkuta, took part in the camp uprising and was later released to the West. He said in Russian over Radio Liberation:

"Dear Friends: I am proud of having participated in the first strike for the liberation of Russia from Communst dictatorship.... Right now I am free.... I want you to believe that the day will come when there will also be real freedom in the Soviet Union."

Through this type of broadcast, Radio Liberation hopes that the anti-Soviet elements in the USSR will be honored and helped "to endure until freedom comes."

Critiques of the Kremlin

Liberation appears more attainable to people in the USSR when Radio Liberation discloses cracks and crevices in the Kremlin — for to people suffering under the regime it sometimes appears invincible.

Radio Liberation builds up its attacks on the Kremlin in patient, careful stages. For example, here is a succession of broadcasts on the Kremlin's recently-launched de-Stalinization campaign.

¶ First Radio Liberation simply cast doubts, exposed official Soviet contradictions, in an early broadcast. "When Stalin's body was buried on March 9, 1953, Malenkov said, 'Our teacher and leader, the greatest genius of mankind, Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, has ended his glorious path of life. Stalin's cause will live forever.' But Malenkov says now, in 1956, that Stalin's personality cult was a distortion of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. As far as Malenkov is concerned, it can be said that, like a young widow, he consoled himself quickly."

¶ Next Radio Liberation demonstrated that the de-Stalinization campaign, although it looked like a Soviet face-lifting, made little difference to basic Communist doctrine: "How do

the members of the collective leadership interpret this new, 'peaceful' road to Communism?.... Mikoyan cited the case of Czechoslovakia as an example of the 'peaceful road' to Communism.... From this it follows that the Party leadership is not planning to abolish armed revolt or force as a method of seizing power for the Communists."

¶ Having established the continuity of aggressive Communist doctrine, Radio Liberation went on to show that the men in the Kremlin themselves had not changed. "Is it a mere accident," the broadcasts asked, "that Bulganin, this veteran secret police agent, became premier and that Khrushchev, this pogromist and grave digger of the peasantry, became first secretary of the Party? Every last member of the present collective leadership grew and flourished in the muck of Stalin's crimes. Every last one of them rose to leadership not by resisting those crimes, but by aggravating and multiplying them. Those crimes unite this leadership — and will unite it tomorrow."

¶ Finally, after the steady build-up of arguments, Radio Liberation struck home with the assertion that the entire de-Stalinization campaign was a fake. "Khrushchev and the other boys know that the nation does not draw any line between Stalin on the one hand and his faithful disciples and comrades-in arms on the other. They are silent on this point and are going to remain silent until the nation brings them to account."

And to cap the climax, three days after the foregoing broadcast, Radio Liberation was able to report not only the riots in Soviet Georgia against de-Stalinization, but also an uproar over de-Stalinization among Soviet officers stationed in East Germany. "All over the USSR," said the station, "people realize that the root of the evil is the system itself. This system breeds and is bound to breed monsters like Stalin and imitators of him like Khrushchev."

Thus in a single sequence of broadcasts, Radio Liberation exposed a glaring weakness of the Kremlin — the hypocrisy of the de-Stalinization campaign and also proved that it was well in touch with Soviet sentiment which rose up against the campaign just as Radio Liberation did.

Focusing the Anger

People in the USSR are acutely aware of their agony, but it is so intense, omnipresent and apparently endless that they may fatalistically tend to forget its source — the Communist system — and the way the one agony might be lifted — by the overthrow of Communism. Therefore Radio Liberation continually points out to specific groups and classes in the USSR where the root of the evil they suffer lies.

¶ To labor, Radio Liberation broadcasts messages like this one from Mohammed A. Khatib, President of the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor: "Before my country received its independence in 1947, I spent a total of eleven years in prison for trade union and nationalist activity. Now I have the freedom to fight and lead the free trade unions of Pakistan in their hard struggle for their rights, but I have not forgotten the days when the working men of my country did not have the freedom which they enjoy today. Therefore I can sympathize with the workers of the Soviet Union whose so-called trade unions are merely instruments of exploitation. I know that it would be impossible for you to carry out a strike like the one waged this month by the dock and port workers of Karachi We sincerely hope that you Soviet workers will also have this freedom soon." Citing the example of his own people, Mr. Khatib was calling on Soviet workers to emulate it.

¶ To peasants, Radio Liberation says: "Two and a half years have already passed since Khrushchev promised to extricate our agriculture from its crisis. Since then, Khrushchev has made many speeches of every kind, but our agriculture still remains in a state of crisis. A few days ago even the official statistics admitted that there is still no recovery in animal husbandry Let us see then what Khrushchev intends to do in the face of such a situation. He is proposing measures which lead to intensification of state control over the peasants, to exploitation of the peasants laboring not for themselves but for the dictatorship. What will this lead to? Only to the further deterioration of affairs in our agriculture."

¶ To teachers and educators, Radio Liberation addressed

a special program on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Moscow University. Among the messages from many prominent emigre and free-world educators, one was from Michael Novikoff, the last freely elected Rector of Moscow University, who now lives in the U.S. He told his former teaching colleagues: "True, large sums of money are sometimes placed at your disposal. But as the Russian proverb has put it, 'tears flow even through gold.' Luxurious buildings are being erected today for the university, but we might ask whether this is not done chiefly for the sake of advertisement and propaganda — or perhaps to make possible even closer surveillance of your conduct."

¶ To artists and writers, a crucially significant group in the culture-hungry USSR, Radio Liberation has addressed many messages. One of the most pointed and poignant broadcasts was that of the singer and musical producer Victor Alexandrovich Andoga, now in New York. Andoga said: "In his last speech at the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, Molotov called all men who oppose and struggle against Bolshevism 'social refuse.' Artists like Roerich, Sudeikin, Sorin, Dobuzhinsky, Korovin, composers and musicians like Stravinsky, Grechaninov, Koussevitsky, Malko, Rachmaninoff, ballet masters like Fokine and Balanchine, singers like the genius Chaliapin, scholars like Ignatiev, naval engineers like Zvorykin, aeronautical engineers like Sikorsky — it is they whom Molotov called 'social refuse.' "

A special appeal to Soviet writers was made when the Second Congress of Soviet Writers met in the Kremlin. In a broadcast entitled "Writers in Uniform," Radio Liberation reviewed two decades of Soviet literary history, faithfully pointing out how free and creative writers had been stifled, one after the other. Not only the station staff spoke; prominent literary figures in the free world lent their voices too. One of the most eloquent appeals to the Soviet writers came from exiled Russian novelist Boris Zaitsev, who said: "I salute you, fellow writers, on the opening of your Congress. In 1922, when I was President of the Moscow Writers' Union, such congresses had not been held. Much time has passed since then. Today you and we find ourselves in different worlds. You have a homeland,

you have our great people, your youth and strength. But we have freedom! We write as we please. We Russian writers abroad may live modestly, but our freedom is not limited. Perhaps you live in riches and plenty, but you also live in servitude. From the bottom of my heart I wish that you at this Congress may take at least the first step toward freedom, for one cannot do without it in our craft."

Zaitsev was heard and heard well at the Writers' Congress in the Kremlin. His words had such impact that the Soviets could not gloss over them. In his concluding speech, Alexei Surkov, First Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, rushed to declare: "The enemies of our country and our literature are not silent. On the occasion of our Congress, the White emigre Boris Zaitsev was dragged out of the literary trash basket to babble poisonous words of impotent malice over a White guard microphone." Surkov also attacked the famed American novelist, James T. Farrell, and the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, who had likewise beamed messages to the Congress over Radio Liberation.

Apparently the Soviet writers had been sufficiently moved by Radio Liberation's programs addressed to them that Soviet authority felt it necessary to tell them to get back in line.

These are but samples of the way in which Radio Liberation points out to each group and class in the USSR that the source of its suffering lies with the men of the Kremlin and the Communist system.

Charting the Future

But encouraging protest and resentment against the Kremlin is not sufficient. The groups and classes in the USSR need to have their alternatives articulated. Radio Liberation does it, not magisterially, but evocatively, in such a way that they will seek and see for themselves what future they can have.

¶ To Labor, Radio Liberation has said in the words of Russian-born David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union: "I sincerely hope that the day will come soon when you Soviet workers are able to share in the benefits of free trade-unionism."

¶ To peasants, Radio Liberation proclaims: "The kolkhoz farmer dreams of free labor on free land What our country needs is a free peasant, the release of his personal, private initiative. There is only one way out: The replacement of the compulsory kolkhozes* and sovkhozes** by independent farms and free agricultural cooperatives."

¶ To teachers and educators, Radio Liberation limned a dream of liberty in the words of N. S. Timasheff, former faculty member of Petersburg University and now professor of sociology at Fordham University in New York: "We are full of hope, nay, we are sure that the shackles which now bind Russian science and academic life will fall. The day will come when you shall heed Party resolutions and threats no more, when the voice of Russian science will once again ring magnificently and freely, as it did in even the most reactionary periods of Russian history. For not even in those days did anybody dare to suggest to Russian scholars what and how to create. We are certain that all of you dream of the coming day of freedom. May all those who believe in academic freedom be reunited soon."

¶ To artists and writers, Radio Liberation calls out: "A man should write only when he cannot remain silent."

Rough, simple, and full of heart — these are Radio Liberation's challenges to its listeners in the USSR to build their free future.

Free World Sympathy

Sufferers under Soviet dictatorship know that the job of Liberation is, in the final analysis, their own. But the job to them appears surmountable only when they feel that the free world sympathizes and will support their herculean endeavor. That is why Radio Liberation lets its USSR listeners hear, again and again, the voices of prominent free world figures who actively endorse the liberation struggle in the USSR. Few broadcasts have more eloquently stated the free world's tacit par-

* Collective farms.

** State farms.

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ticipation in the anti-Soviet struggle in the USSR than a special message from Walter P. Reuther, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, who exclaimed over Radio Liberation to the USSR:

"I want to assure every imprisoned worker in the vast jail which the Bolshevik regime has made of the Russian homeland that there are millions of us who stand with them in the hope and determination that the gates between them and freedom will soon be opened If courage and the will to freedom can survive and flare out in the darkness of the Arctic slave mines, they can flourish anywhere. It must be our unwavering duty to assure that they do."

Beyond such testimonials, the existence of Radio Liberation itself is evidence that the free world backs the peoples of the USSR in their effort to be free.

WHO DOES THE WORK?

LEONID PILAJEV

A key member of Radio Liberation and the personality best known to its listeners, the man most defectors have asked to meet when they come out, is Leonid Pilajev.*

Pilajev's father was a tailor in a village near Moscow. In 1923, when Pilajev was seven years old, a pistol-packing Red cavalryman invaded his father's shop, sat down and spent four hours lecturing the family on the virtues of Communism and the stupidity of religion, making fun of the Pilajev family icons as he talked. Pilajev's mother finally complained against the Red's lecture, but not her young son. He considered the cavalryman a hero; he felt it would be wonderful if he himself could intrude on people and order them around in the same way.

Pilajev became an activist. Throughout his school career, he belabored his fellow students to become devout Communists. When he was graduated from Moscow University in 1933, after majoring in literature, he got a job with the Central Committee of the Lenin Youth. Here he had his chance to exercise that youthful urge to authority. He visited hundreds of factories and collective farms — and filed his reports on them with the Central Committee.

Disenchantment set in, as the Stalin purges made their murderous inroads. Pilajev's shock was the more intense as he had been completely convinced that Communism was infallible. He reacted violently — and he was arrested, sent to Moscow's Lubianka Prison and then to the Siberian slave labor camp of Vorkuta.

At Vorkuta, Pilajev was set free, but forbidden to return to Moscow. He eked out a living as a teacher and writer of

* Peel-ai-yef.

children's plays. In 1911, he was drafted into the infantry. In 1942, the Germans took him prisoner.

A bizarre and moving thing happened. A girl that Pilajev had known in Vorkuta saw him in German captivity and, out of sympathy, she declared that he was a native of the region where he was seized. At the time, this was grounds for release from the German PW camp. The rescue later led to marriage.

Once he was free, Pilajev launched a program of anti-Communist propaganda, in German-occupied territory. "I had seen during the fighting," Pilajev recalls, "the cruel fashion in which so-called 'Heroes of the Soviet Union' threatened all those under them. I then resolved to do all I could to put an end to the Communist tyranny." In 1943, Pilajev was able to flee to West Germany. There he became the writer-editor-compositor-printer of a satirical journal for his fellow refugees.

Since 1952, Pilajev has employed his satirical talent on behalf of Radio Liberation. He writes and broadcasts the comedy script of 'Ivan Oktyabrev' (John October), a character who supposedly drove a tractor on a kolkhoz and a tank in World War II, and who is good naturedly sick of all the "successes" of the Soviet system and knows just how to make fun of them in a way that a Soviet listener will understand and appreciate.

In his spare time, Pilajev has played supporting roles in West German films and has organized a traveling troupe to entertain fellow exiles from the USSR in West German emigre camps. The program includes lampoons of aspects of Soviet life and scornfully satirizes the Committee for Return to the Homeland.

Pilajev's influence has been so effective that the Soviets have continuously tried to woo him to redefect. During the 1956 Olympics in Cortina, Italy, where Pilajev was serving as a correspondent, he was directly approached by a Soviet diplomatic official who asked him why he did not go back to the USSR from which he had fled in 1943. Pilajev answered quickly and resolutely: "No major improvements have taken place in the Soviet system since its inception. I prefer to live in democratic West Germany rather than in the so-called 'Workers' Paradise' in the Soviet Union." But Pilajev's brusque dismissal



Leonid Pilajev



Veli Zunnun

of the Soviet diplomatic courier did not deter the Soviets from further wooing him. They have addressed direct appeals to him over their propaganda stations — the latest, a letter in the *Return to the Homeland* newspaper *Za Vozvrashcheniye Na Rodinu* from a recent redefector, Boris Vinogradov. In the letter, Vinogradov hurled invective after invective at Pilajev, on the one hand calling him names and on the other urgently pleading with him to return to the USSR, promising complete forgiveness by the Soviets.

But despite the name calling and the claim that Pilajev is working for Radio Liberation only for money, Vinogradov admits Pilajev's talent:

"Why am I now writing about it [Pilajev's defection and work for Radio Liberation]? Because I'm convinced that a talented man cannot reconcile himself to the corruption that surrounds him. And I consider Pilajev a talented man." The Soviets have also used a mixture of threats and flattery to persuade the rest of Radio Liberation's staff to give up its work for freedom but these attempts have only increased the determination of the staff members to carry on their work — and with increased vigor.

VELI ZUNNUN

He is a descendant of Tamerlane the Great, and also the first translator of *Tom Sawyer* into the tongue of his native Uzbekistan, a vast central Asian area half the size of the United States. He was graduated in 1930 with a degree in journalism from Tashkent University, whereupon he immediately became an editor of the Uzbek state newspaper, the news chief of Radio Tashkent, and a translator in many tongues.

In 1938 his life changed completely. The Soviets shot his brother as an "undesirable element" and he was fired from his post for his "guilt" by association. He was drafted into the Soviet Army in 1941 and was captured by the Germans in 1943. Enraged at the Soviet system, he edited a weekly newspaper for many of the Soviet citizens who had turned against their regime and were desperately fighting with the Germans.

When World War II ended, he made his way to the American Zone of occupied Germany. From 1947 to 1952, he kept in touch with affairs in his homeland by editing an emigre journal.

This is the outline story of 44-year old Veli Zunnun, a lean, keen-eyed man, who today heads the important Turkestani desk of Radio Liberation in Munich. He personally prepares a score of scripts each month, and edits broadcasts not only in the Uzbek tongue but also in three other languages employed by Radio Liberation — Turkmen, Kazakh and Kirghiz.

VLADIMIR DUDZICKI

A colleague of Zunnun's, Vladimir Dudzicki, heads the desk for another of the 17 languages in which the station broadcasts, Belorussian.

Dudzicki's life path is scarred with the death of no less than fifteen of his relatives, all victims of Soviet tyranny. One of his brothers, a Red Army major was shot in 1928, a second perished in the concentration-camp hell of Kolyma in Siberia, a third was cut down by Soviet partisans during World War II. Dudzicki himself, soon after he was graduated from the Minsk Higher Pedagogical Institute in 1933, was sentenced to

three years' hard labor in Siberia for "anti-Communist activity." The slight, scholarly young man spent the period of his sentence felling trees, building roads, digging sewers.

Once released, Dudzicki was sent to Central Asia. Then he was allowed to go home. He held a variety of teaching and writing jobs in Belorussia. When the Germans came, his hatred of the Soviet regime impelled him to join the anti-Soviet Belorussian Central Council. But the westward drive of the Soviet armies forced him to flee and finally plunged him into a post-war DP camp in Austria. From here he managed to emigrate to Venezuela, where he became chief of an agricultural experiment station. In 1956, his Belorussian emigre friends persuaded him to return to Europe and join the staff of Radio Liberation in Munich.

All told, some 150 former residents of the USSR conceive, organize and present Radio Liberation's programs to its vast and secretive audience. Each staff member has a personal history — and a profound personal insight based on that history — which enables him to speak in terms and tones convincing and compelling to listeners in the USSR. Hundreds more contribute to the programming as free-lance writers and speakers. These are none of them commercial broadcasters; they are all men with a personal and perennial mission to liberate their homeland.

These key members of Radio Liberation's Munich staff receive assistance from a small group of Americans who have an expert knowledge of the USSR and a background of experience in information work. Radio Liberation's technical staff in Europe and the Far East is in a position to draw on the services of a group of American technical specialists in communications who have helped to design, set up and operate the elaborate transmitting equipment which carries the words and spirit of the emigre broadcasting staff deep into the USSR.

The main center of this activity is the former administration building of an abandoned airport in Munich, which has been suitably cut up into offices and studios. Here the emigre script writers study their source material; recordings of Soviet

broadcasts and copies of Soviet papers and magazines, all of which can be replied to; pronouncements and writings of free world figures that will be useful in framing the replies; news tickers that often help Radio Liberation tell Soviet citizens facts that the Kremlin propaganda machine is still hiding from them; scholarly books and journals that recall facts from the past which the Kremlin hopes to keep forgotten; writings of faith and idealism whose re-interpretation will kindle new hope among Radio Liberation's listeners. In this studio, also, are traded the furious arguments for which emigres from the USSR are famous — and which are enormously fruitful in producing Radio Liberation's most effective programs.

A second similar center of programming activity has been gradually developed in New York as more and more of the most competent members of the emigration have received the highly prized immigration visas and have come to settle in America.

After a study, the debating sessions and the final scripting, there remains only for the broadcasts to be taped in the Munich studio. Then they go to the transmitters in Germany and to the other Radio Liberation transmitters around the USSR and inside to the peoples of the USSR.

WHO'S BEHIND IT?

The History

Radio Liberation got its start in 1950.

That year, a group of eminent Americans surveyed the Cold War scene and found an appalling instance of neglect: no major or concerted attempt had been made to enlist the loyalties and passions of the anti-Soviet exiles from, and the anti-Soviet residents in, the USSR against the Kremlin. An almost inexhaustible reservoir of political energy lay untapped, stagnant. No single-minded effort had been launched to appeal to the spirit that had led millions of USSR citizens to desert from the Soviet Army and administration during World War II, and to choose the most desperate of alternatives — temporary alliance with Hitler — because they so terribly needed and wanted an alternative, any alternative at all to Sovietism.

All the free world's energy in the Cold War had been spent either on containing Soviet power or on encouraging aloofness from it, as in neutralism. The representative cast of characters in the Cold War drama had not been assembled; the restive peoples of the USSR had not been asked to choose. If they were offered an alternative to straight Soviet domination how would they decide? Like the millions who deserted to the Vlasov cause in World War II? The initiators of Radio Liberation were determined to find out whether what they believed was true — that many citizens of the USSR would, even if only by listening to foreign-originated and forbidden broadcasts, take their chances on freedom.

Out of this determination grew the American Committee for Liberation, with headquarters at 6 East 45th Street in New York. AmComLib, as it quickly became known, undertook two major efforts: first, to rally the emigration from the USSR and second, to enable the emigration to speak to its countrymen in

the USSR. The results born of such aspiration have been described. None of them was gained easily or over night.

Setting up Radio Liberation entailed complex preparation not encountered by the ordinary broadcasting operation. The emigration from the USSR, scattered over many nations, had to be brought into cooperation with the venture, in order to give the broadcasts authority. The ablest emigres in the writing and broadcasting fields had to be located and teamed up as a station staff in order to give the programs quality. Negotiations had to be pursued with foreign governments for the location of studio and transmitter facilities on their soil.

Radio Liberation's effort has inevitably appeared to parallel that of the older Free Europe Committee, even though AmComLib is and always has been a completely independent venture and there is no duplication of mission or effort in their respective activities. The Free Europe Committee sponsored Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to the Eastern European satellites in their languages, but not to the USSR. AmComLib, however, is the sponsor of Radio Liberation, which broadcasts to the peoples of the USSR in their many tongues.

The American Committee is dependent upon private contributions — individual and corporate — as well as upon foundation donors and it has received the contributions with no strings attached as to their use in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Committee has thus been free to extend to the emigre broadcasters a wide liberty of expression to maintain their position on the radio of being the free voices of their peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

On March 1, 1953, Radio Liberation went on the air. Its progress since then has begun to justify the hopes of the founders. And its day-to-day problems and long-range aspirations keep the present AmComLib intensely occupied.

Radio Liberation's Backers Today

President of AmComLib is Howland H. Sargent, a well-known American public servant and former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Mr. Sargeant is assisted by a small American staff of experts in Soviet affairs, broadcasting, radio engineering and administration.

The trustees of AmComLib represent a spectrum of American business, scholarly and professional interests. They include:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, | former President of the American Federation of Women's Clubs. |
| John R. Burton, | New York banker. |
| William Henry Chamberlin, | author of <i>Russia's Iron Age</i> , and other books on the Soviet Union, contributor to the <i>Wall Street Journal</i> , and other newspapers. |
| Charles Edison, | former Secretary of the Navy and former Governor of New Jersey. |
| J. Peter Grace, | Chairman of the Board, W. R. Grace & Company. |
| Allen Grover, | Vice President, <i>Time</i> , Inc. |
| H. J. Heinz, II, | President, H. J. Heinz & Company. |
| Isaac Don Levine | authority on Soviet affairs and author of the first major biography of Stalin. |
| Eugene Lyons, | author of <i>Assignment in Utopia</i> and <i>Our Secret Allies</i> , profound studies of the Soviet Union, and Senior Editor of <i>Readers' Digest</i> . |
| Dr. John W. Studebaker, | former U.S. Commissioner of Education. |
| Reginald T. Townsend, | former Vice President and Director of the Advertising firm of Lennen & Mitchell. |

William L. White,

editor, author and publisher of
the *Emporia Gazette*.

Philip H. Willkie,

President and attorney of the
Rashville (Ind.) National Bank,
one-time member of the Indiana
legislature.

Universal Support for Radio Liberation

To those who may wonder whether a positive American contribution to foreign affairs is often only the work of a few dedicated individuals, without genuine backing from the U.S. public, and especially without agreement from the thinking public in most of the non-Communist world's countries, it may be heartening to know that Radio Liberation has received wide support from distinguished individuals from many countries, not only the U.S., but from churchmen, teachers, scientists, labor leaders, journalists and statesmen everywhere.

The chief of the British Labor Party, Hugh Gaitskell, has spoken over Radio Liberation to the peoples of the USSR.

So have U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and the U.S. Republican floor leader in the Senate, William F. Knowland.

So has Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

So have U.S. General Omar Bradley, Argentine publisher Alberto Gainza Paz and American publisher Bennett Cerf. Russian-born Alexandra Tolstoy and many other well-known exiles from the USSR sat at Radio Liberation's microphones.

Here are others, from many countries:

Andre Lafond, France

Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisia

Mohammed A. Khatib, Pakistan

Igor Gouzenko, USSR-Canada

Henry Peyre, France-USA

Rene Fuclop-Miller, Hungary-USA

Ignazio Silone, Italy
Albert Camus, France
Jacques Maritain, France-USA
Eiler Jensen, Denmark
Robert Bothereau, France
Sir William Lawther, Great Britain
W. H. Auden, Great Britain-USA
T. Nishimaki, Japan
John K. Tettegah, Gold Coast
Italo Viglianese, Italy

Harold Willis Dodds, President of Princeton University; Henry T. Heald, former Chancellor of New York University, now president of the Ford Foundation; George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College; Millicent C. McIntosh, President of Barnard College; and many other outstanding American educators have addressed messages to the peoples of the USSR over Radio Liberation.

Among the scientists who have spoken over the station are Vannevar Bush, Nobel Prize Winner H. J. Muller (who worked at Moscow University from 1933 to 1937); Nobel Prize Winner Wendell M. Stanley; bridge designer David B. Steinmann; biologist Conway Zirkle, aeronautical pioneer Igor Sikorsky, and many more.

Among labor leaders whose voices have been heard in the USSR through Radio Liberation are George Meany, President AFL-CIO, Jacob Potofsky, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Charles J. McGowan, President of the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Shipbuilders International; Walter Reuther, etc.

American writers whose messages have been used by Radio Liberation are too numerous to permit more than mere sampling of their names: John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Joseph Wood Krutch, James T. Farrell, and Lionel Trilling.

Among the American journalists who have endorsed Radio Liberation, David Lawrence singled out the unique feature when he wrote: "Unlike those broadcasting on other projects which [in the USSR] are recognized as 'foreign,' the speakers on Radio Liberation use such terms as 'we Russians' or 'we Ukrainians' and when they criticize the Soviet system, they do it as members of the family and fellow citizens — not as outsiders."

Roscoe Drummond declared: "Radio Liberation . . . carries the story of freedom where freedom is in chains. This group counts itself the greatest possible friend of the Russian people because it is 'dedicated to the liberation of all mankind from the scourge of Soviet power.'"

On the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri read the history of Radio Liberation into the Congressional Record and asserted of it and AmComLib: "This record of accomplishment and those who are engaged in this worthwhile cause — which shows sympathy for the suffering of the oppressed, friendship for other peoples and passionate conviction that freedom is the birthright of all human beings — deserve the commendation and appreciation of free peoples everywhere."

On the floor of the U.S. Senate, Senator Charles M. Potter of Michigan spoke out: "It is heartening to know that the citizens of the Soviet Union who yearn for freedom have a voice that speaks to them of a better future. It is the voice of Radio Liberation."

And for Christmas, 1955 the Metropolitan Anastasi, the oldest Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church and the supreme head of the Russian Church in exile, broadcast to the USSR over the station. Metropolitan Anastasi said over Radio Liberation:

"You, dear brothers, languishing in bonds in our native land . . . we hear your moans and cries and we pray to the Lord, Who came to the world to assuage all who labor and are heavy laden, to preach liberation for the captives and give joy to the oppressed, may He grant you freedom and relief after your sufferings.

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"With all our hearts we hope the New Year will bring a new and better life also to the entire Russian people, which is languishing under the burden of the cross it has borne for so many years.

"God has demanded of it the great feat of patience, in order to reward it tenfold for all its labors, sorrows and privations, as He has once done with Job, and to set it up as an example for other peoples."

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

Men of goodwill can render many specific services to Radio Liberation. Tourists visiting the USSR, in this era of apparently expanded travel to it, can inquire among the people they meet there of their reaction to Radio Liberation. This information, when forwarded to Radio Liberation, will constitute an invaluable programming guide.

Tourists meeting Soviet citizens who have not heard of Radio Liberation can describe the station and its work to them.

Tourists coming out of the USSR can report their impressions, observations and experiences to Radio Liberation. Detailed accounts of daily life, human interest stories, descriptions of work and play and many other things are extremely useful and help supplement Radio Liberation's own reports from inside the USSR. Such material, when used in broadcasts, tells Radio Liberation's listeners that they are known, understood and cared about in the free world. It will give them that longed-for sense of connection with people outside the USSR.

Even though many tourists will necessarily be dependent on a Soviet interpreter, and will have limited access to other Soviet citizens, whatever information they can glean will be of great interest to the Radio Liberation staff.

Tourists passing through Munich, Germany, can stop in to see Radio Liberation at work. This will emphasize to the station staff that people from many places appreciate their often lonely and always long-range endeavor.

People anywhere in the free world can advance the work of Radio Liberation by making it better known. This will not only hearten all those who fear that not enough is being done to reach the peoples of the USSR. It will also stimulate thought, ideas and fruitful suggestions to Radio Liberation.

Finally, anyone anywhere who has information, ideas, suggestions or advice, however derived and however oriented, to offer to Radio Liberation can send it to the station and possibly lead it into fields and avenues of effectiveness yet untrodden.

The liberation of the peoples of the USSR from their tragic past and present will come through a vast and marshaled array of forces. The non-Soviet world needs to cast out its recurrent doubts whether Soviet Communism is really malignant, and its persistent doubts whether free people can really help liberate the oppressed; the will to liberation must be built strong and unbending. The non-Soviet world needs quickly to bind up its internal quarrels; this will make energy now spent in fruitless friction available for liberation. The condition of free world citizens requires constant betterment; thus the free world becomes an increasingly powerful attraction to people behind the Iron Curtain. Free world military strength, in all its forms, from the most complex weapons to the morale of men in arms, must keep pace with and surpass that of the Soviet orbit; thus the Soviets may be prevented from waging war. The free world must confess to and live by its vibrant political faith; so will the victory of the mind and heart be won in the USSR.

Therefore anyone in any station and any place who serves free world progress serves the crusade for liberation, serves the mission of Radio Liberation.

For what Radio Liberation can achieve depends largely on the going condition of liberty. Where liberty flags, the message of Radio Liberation grows fainter — its broadcasts, be they ever so eloquent, lack authority. But where liberty rises, the message of Radio Liberation mounts with moving power — it speaks of the great, good, irresistible cause.

The help that every man of good will, every day can give Radio Liberation is to water the arching tree of liberty, of which Radio Liberation is a branch.

Your inquiries and comments on this booklet, as well as requests for other material on the work of Radio Liberation, are most welcome. Correspondence may be directed to:

**Press and Publications Division,
American Committee for Liberation,
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, N.Y.**